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KAMPUCHEAN FOREIGN MINISTER ARRIVES ON VISIT

OW161655 Hanoi VNA in English 1522 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Hanoi, 16 Jul (VNA)--Hun Sen, Secretariat member of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchean Central Committee, vice-president of the Council of Ministers and minister for foreign affairs, arrived in Sofia yesterday for an official visit to Bulgaria.

Later in the day, he held talks with P. Mladenov, Political Bureau member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and foreign minister.

The two sides unanimously condemned the policy of the U.S. imperialists and the Beijing expansionists aimed at causing international tension, intensifying the arms race and confrontation with the socialist community. The two sides stressed that the 'international conference on Kampuchea' held on the initiative of the United States and China is a gross interference in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

Filipov Receives Hun Sen

AU161050 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, has received Hun Sen, member of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Kampuchean minister of foreign affairs. The ambassadors of the two countries, Simeon Dimitrov and Meas Samnang, were also present

Hun Sen, Zhivkov Meeting

AU161516 Sofia BTA in English 1410 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jul (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received today Mr Hun Sen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and minister of foreign affairs of Kampuchea.

A high assessment was given on Bulgaro-Kampuchean relations and readiness was expressed for their further all-round development.

Mr Todor Zhivkov reaffirmed the backing of the BCP and the Bulgarian people to the just struggle of the Khmer people for the restoration of their country and overcoming the hard heritage left by the pro-Maoist Pol Pot regime. In the future, too, Bulgaria will support Kampuchea's efforts at regulating her relations with the neighboring countries.

Condemning sharply the so-called "conference on Kampuchea" being held in New York, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Hun Sen expressed their profound conviction that the only way to improving the situation in Southeast Asia is the convening of a regional conference of the Indochina state and the ASEAN countries.

Today Mr Hun Sen was also received by Mr Grisha Filipov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers. The prospects to the development of bilateral relations in the field of the economy, trade and industrial cooperation were discussed.

Hun Sen Statement

AU162005 Sofia BTA in English 1843 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jul (BTA)--Mr Hun Sen, Kampuchea's foreign minister, stated today that with the "international conference on Kampuchea" in New York the USA and China are grossly interfering in that country's internal affairs, trying to annex it and turn it into a spring-board for expansion in Southeast Asia.

He noted to a BTA representative and other newsmen that Kampuchea, Vietnam and Laos are the target of continuing aggression on the part of imperialism and hegemony. Mr Hun Sen pointed out that the USA and the other imperialist countries are stepping up the arms race and trying to attain military superiority over the socialist community countries. Emphasizing the importance of the new Soviet peace initiatives, Kampuchea's foreign minister fully backed up the policy of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other socialist countries towards a dialogue in the name of detente and peace.

Dwelling on the situation in Kampuchea, Mr Hun Sen emphasized that thanks to the correct policy of the party and the government, to the efforts of the people and the help of the USSR, Vietnam and other socialist community countries, the country has been quickly revived. Mr Hun Sen made a high assessment of Bulgaro-Kampuchean relations.

PREMIER FILIPOV RECEIVES CSSR MINISTER BAHYL

AU161950 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] On 16 July Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, received Pavol Bahyl, CSSR minister of general engineering, who is visiting Bulgaria. Questions pertaining to bilateral cooperation in machine building and developing traditional relations with other countries were discussed during the talks. In accordance with the agreements reached by first party and state leaders Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Gustav Husak, and implementing the decisions adopted by the 35th session of the CEMA Council, the possibilities were discussed of expanding cooperation between Bulgaria and the CSSR in various areas of machine building.

ZHIVKOV CABLES GREETINGS TO FRANCE'S MITTERRAND

AU161138 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov has sent a greetings telegram to Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic, on the occasion of the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille--14 July--the national holiday of the French Republic.

I would like, the telegram says, to express confidence that the friendly relations between our two countries will continue to develop in the interest of detente, peace and cooperation in Europe and in the world.

Filipov Cables Counterpart

AU161139 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 81 p 1

[Text] Council of Ministers Chairman Grisha Filipov, has sent a greetings telegram to French Premier Pierre Mauroy on the occasion of Bastille Day--the national holiday of the French Republic. The telegram expresses most cordial greetings and good wishes for the prosperity of the French people.

ZHIVKOV GREETS IRAQ'S HUSAYN ON NATIONAL HOLIDAY

AU162007 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jul (BTA)--Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, has wired cordial congratulations to Mr Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolution Command council and president of the Republic of Iraq, on that country's national day, conveying best wishes to the friendly Iraqi people for their prosperity.

The message expresses satisfaction with the successful development of bilateral relations, as well as the conviction that in the future, too, they will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of the two peoples, in the struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction, for peace and understanding in the world.

NICARAGUAN MINISTER DEPARTS COUNTRY 13 JUL

AU161145 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Henry Ruiz Hernandez, member of the national leadership of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation and minister of planning of Nicaragua, who had paid a brief visit to Bulgaria, left the country yesterday.

At Sofia Airport he was seen off by Peko Takov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the State Council, and by Roman Ricardo Wheelock, Nicaraguan ambassador to Bulgaria.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES COLOMBIAN AMBASSADOR 16 JUL

AU162002 Sofia BTA English 1840 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Sofia, 16 Jul (BTA)--Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council, received Mr (Octavio Eano Castallo), the newly appointed Colombian ambassador to Bulgaria, who presented his credentials to him.

In a greetings speech Mr (Octavio Eano Castallo) dwelt on Bulgaria's undeniable and generally acknowledged successes in the years of people's rule--after September 9th, 1944. He emphasized that, from a primitive agrarian state in the past, today's Bulgaria has turned into a modern industrial state. Regarding the policy pursued by Colombia he said that it leans on the struggle for peace and the policy of noninterference. The conviction was expressed that bilateral cultural and economic relations can be expanded.

In reply Mr Todor Zhivkov emphasized that Bulgaria's foreign policy is aimed at preserving peace in the world, at peaceful coexistence of states of different social systems and developing friendly relations with all countries and peoples. He stressed that in recent years the cultural and economic relations of Bulgaria and Colombia have developed and deepened, but that the achievements are still far from the real possibilities. Said Mr Todor Zhivkov: "The Bulgarian side will continue in future to do its best for their expanding and deepening."

The ambassador handed over to Mr Todor Zhivkov a letter-message by Colombia's President Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala.

GDR'S KRENZ MEETS TANEV ON YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

LD161500 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The first secretaries of the FDJ Central Council and the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, Egon Krenz and Georgi Tanev, began an exchange of experiences today in Sofia on the tasks facing the two socialist youth organizations following the recent SED and BCP Congresses. Egon Krenz described many examples of how the FDJ basic organizations were accomplishing exemplary feats toward all-round strengthening and protection of the GDR. He stressed that the friendship treaty signed by Erich Honecker and Todor Zhivkov in 1977 had provided the younger generations in both countries with a wider variety of opportunities for cooperation in the most diverse fields.

BRIEFS

CROP SPRAYING ABROAD--Sofia, 14 Jul (BTA)--This year the airplanes of the Bulgarian farm aviation are treating chemically the cotton and rice plantations in Sudan, Egypt, Angola and Ethiopia. Already for 15 years the Bulgarian farm aircraft have been engaged in working flights over the lands of the "Sudan Gezira Board" Company. According to the Sudanese and Egyptian statistics the plantations processed chemically by the Bulgarian farm aviation have yielded by 20 percent higher crops on the average. The Bulgarian farm aviation is serviced by hundreds of modern airplanes and helicopters. There are possibilities to increase the number of flights over the African continent (Tunisia, Somali and Libya). The aircraft of this aviation is processing over 1,500,000 hectares of farm crops annually abroad. [Sofia BTA in English 0815 GMT 14 Jul 81 AU]

OPENING DEBATES OF PZPR CONGRESS ANALYZED

PZPR's Leading Role

AU161106 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[Jan Lipavsky, Karol Mikulka, Pavol Minarik, Miloslav Vitek Warsaw dispatch: "To Lead Poland Out of the Crisis; Opening of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw"]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 14 July--The delegates to whom we spoke during the congress intermissions made no secret of their conviction that a great deal will depend, in particular, on the quality of the Central Committee's and other party bodies' cadre structure, on the degree of their consistency in enacting the PZPR's leading role and on the extent to which they will guide in that direction all links of party management and each organization. The time has come for every communist to assume an uncompromising position on the vital issues concerning our party and society as a whole, we heard the delegates say. It is necessary for everyone to state clearly on whose side he stands--on the side of those who want to revise under the slogan of renewal the principles of party structure and democratic centralism and turn the party into some sort of a mere inspirational or consultative force in society or those who stand firmly for Leninist principles concerning the Marxist-Leninist party's historic mission as a vanguard.

It may also be regarded as characteristic of the atmosphere of the first day of the congress that the delegates responded vigorously to those portions of the PZPR Central Committee's report that testified to the Polish People's Republic's friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and to People's Poland's firm place in the family of socialist states. The statement that verbal declarations on the danger posed to Poland by internal enemies must be followed by energetic action also met with lively approval.

Debate 'Reflects' Crisis

LD162042 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] We begin with a short comment on the character of discussions at the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party. The debate reflects the present complicated crisis situation in the country. In the document submitted by the Central Committee and speeches of delegates and guests, one can most often trace concern over the further development in Poland. This is motivated by, in particular, unceasing activities of anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary forces in Polish society.

Some congress delegates, for example, (An Bikowski) drew attention to provocative action and incidents directed against congress delegates. They spoke officially about attempts to discredit and blacken communists who, with the mandate of congress delegates, are now deciding on highly important questions. And it is generally known that these actions are organized mostly by various centers of the so-called Solidarity union. Under the protection of this organization, a general attack has been launched on the socialist sector in agriculture as delegate (Michal Podorowski) told the congress.

The chairman of the liaison commission of trade unions, Albin Szyszka, discussed Solidarity's policy in industry. He pointed out that these so-called trade unionists are launching a concentrated attack on one of the basic pillars of socialism, on the social ownership of the means of production. They are striving for these means to be returned to private hands, and they justify this by demagogic phrases about complying with the interests of workers.

It is necessary to fight resolutely those who want to lead us away from the road we set out on in July 1944, said delegate Josef Baryla. He also drew attention to the fact that the country is still in a position of a serious threat on the part of anti-Socialist forces supported by foreign centers of subversion.

It would be possible to quote speeches by other delegates who, with the same emphasis, spoke about the stepping up of actions on the part of enemies of socialist Poland.

This danger was also mentioned by delegates of fraternal communist parties attending the congress. The head of the Czechoslovak Communist Party delegation, and chief secretary of the Prague party organization, Antonin Kapek, in his speech recalled the whole spectrum of destructive demogogy and gross pressure, which our internal enemies used at the end of the 1960's in Czechoslovakia. At that time, in our country, an attempt was made to reverse the balance of forces in Europe to the benefit of imperialism. Now the same forces are using the Polish card for achieving a similar end. That is why they are interested for Poland to remain paralyzed, chaotic and weak.

What Antonin Kapek pointed out in his speech can be found in the speeches by all representatives of the communist parties present, namely that the Polish communists, in their determination to remove, overcome and rectify the serious mistakes and shortcomings from the past period, and [words indistinct], for the experiences from the crisis years in Czechoslovakia have confirmed that the defense of the socialist achievement in each individual country is at the same time the common concern of all socialist states.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON NGUYEN CO THACH'S VISIT

Talks With Chnoupek

LD161250 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1200 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Nguyen Co Thach, held talks in the Cernin Palace in Prague today.

They noted with satisfaction that both the extent and standards of the fraternal contacts between the two states are in keeping with the tradition of friendship and cooperation and the interests of their peoples. They emphasized that every prerequisite exists for the further dynamic development of contacts in economy, culture, education and science. Above all, the visit of the Czechoslovak party and state delegation headed by Comrade Gustav Husak to Vietnam in February 1980 amounted to a significant impulse for the broadening of Czechoslovak-Vietnamese cooperation.

Also on the agenda of today's talks between Bohuslav Chnoupek and Nguyen Co Thach were further topical international questions. Both ministers were unanimous in pointing out the fact that the aggressive policy of the United States and the actions of the Chinese leadership are considerably complicating the international situation and slowing down further detente. They drew attention to the danger of a new feverish armament toward which the militaristic policy of NATO was leading and underlined that the Soviet peace proposals, including the recent appeal to the parliaments and nations of the world, outlined a sensible and generally acceptable path to the solution of pressing problems.

Both ministers also resolutely condemned the armed attacks of China on North Vietnamese border areas. They expressed a categorically negative stand on the so-called international conference on Cambodia [as heard] in New York which was overt interference in internal Cambodian affairs.

At the close of the deliberations, which were characterized by a full unanimity of views on all questions under discussion, Bohuslav Chnoupek and Nguyen Co Thach signed an agreement on cooperation between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam for 1981-85.

Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, today gave a festive dinner in honor of Nguyen Co Thach, minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, in the Cernin Palace in Prague. Both statesmen delivered toasts at the dinner.

Meeting With Gerle

LD161934 Prague CTK in English 1743 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Jul (CETEKA)--Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Ladislav Gerle received here Thursday Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. In their talks, the two representatives appreciated that traditional friendly relations between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam have developed successfully, and stressed the importance and possibilities of further intensification of economic cooperation. They discussed further extension of economic cooperation, including Czechoslovak assistance in training Vietnamese specialists for various branches of economy.

Chnoupek Luncheon Comments

LD162110 Prague CTK in English 1650 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Jul (CETEKA)--Vietnam plays an important role in strengthening the anti-imperialist character of the Non-Aligned Movement, Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bochuslav Chnoupek said Thursday proposing a toast at a luncheon he was giving for his visiting Vietnamese colleague Nguyen Co Thach.

He noted that the mobilizing influence of the two countries' communist parties was evident in all fields of cooperation. Czechoslovakia and Vietnam jointly support the peace effort of the Soviet Union, which is an effective means of strengthening security in the present sharpened international situation, the minister said. He also pointed out the significance of the peace proposals made by the conferences of the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. Nguyen Co Thach stressed Vietnam's desire to live in peace, but it has to counter the expansionist policy of China and other [illegible] imperialist and reactionary forces which organize subversive actions against the three Indochinese countries and are trying to impede the tendency towards dialogue between the countries of Indochina and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations member states. He stressed that the people of Vietnam will never forget Czechoslovakia's support and assistance at the time of the struggle against the U.S. and Chinese aggression and in the peaceful construction of socialism.

He added that imperialism and reactionary forces are trying to liquidate socialism in Poland, and expressed the belief that the Polish communists, working class and people will mar all plans of imperialism and successfully defend the achievements of socialism in their country.

Press Conference in Prague

LD161943 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT 16 Jul 81

[By Pavel Pimper]

[Text] Prague, 16 Jul (CETEKA)--"Forces of imperialism and hegemonism concentrated in the past years their military, political and economic pressure on the Indochinese countries, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, but failed to break the determination of their nations to fight for freedom and independence."

This was stressed at a press conference here on Thursday by Vietnam's Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach, who added: "We were not broken even by fifteen million tons of explosives dropped by the enemies on the territory of Indochina." He went on to describe Chinese hegemonism as the main threat to peace and further peaceful development in the area.

"The military presence of Vietnam in Cambodia is connected with the general security of Indochina," he said and stressed that "Vietnamese troops will leave Cambodia the day after a treaty guarantees that Cambodia will not be threatened by China."

"The current conference on the 'Cambodian issue' in New York is utterly unjust and invalid," Nguyen Co Thach continued. It is to revive the Pol Pot regime which annihilated three million Cambodians. "It is thus at variance with the interests of the Cambodian people, and the legal government of the Cambodian People's Republic is therefore not represented at the conference." The Vietnamese foreign minister emphasized that absent from the conference are also the socialist countries and most of the non-aligned states.

No conflict can be solved without the participation of all sides involved, and thus no deliberations without the participation of the Indochinese countries can solve problems of Southeast Asia, he added.

Nguyen Co Thach expressed his satisfaction with the results of his official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia, which strengthened the traditional fraternal relations between the nations of Czechoslovakia and Vietnam, tested by Czechoslovak aid to the Vietnamese people in their struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

Thach on Kampuchean Presence

NC162021 Paris AFP in English 2004 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Jul (AFP)--Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach said today his country had a legitimate right to be present in Cambodia and help that nation oppose "the Chinese threat".

Speaking at a news conference here at the end of his official visit to Czechoslovakia, Mr Thach said that Vietnamese soldiers would be withdrawn from Cambodia the day after the halt to the Chinese threat. Mr Thach also said that Vietnam rejected the United Nations conference on Cambodia, now being held in New York, saying "it was not representative."

Vietnam is among countries boycotting the conference, whose aim, Mr Thach said, was to re-establish the power of the criminal (Khmer Rouge leader) Pol Pot and to re-establish peace... which already exists in Cambodia."

It was the third time Vietnam had had a military presence in Cambodia and each time it was "to fight against a common enemy," he said naming, in turn the French, Americans and now the Chinese. "The independence of each Indo-Chinese country depends on that of the others," Mr Thach said. He also denounced what he called an escalation of Chinese military activities and said that Vietnam was ready to oppose any new Chinese aggression against Vietnam.

While in Prague, Mr Thach met with President Gustav Husak and Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND CARRIES GUS HALL ARTICLE

AU151827 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jul 81 pp 5-6

[Article by Gus Hall, secretary general of the U.S. Communist Party: "U.S. Imperialism and Poland: Strategy and Tactics of Counterrevolution"]

[Text] The history of relations between the Polish people and the people of the United States has always been a history of unlimited possibilities for communication, contacts and exchange. These contacts were mainly characterized by peace and friendship. The last time, however, a new negative dimension emerged, because Washington and Wall Street have clearly become the most dynamic and busiest centers for anti-Polish activities in the world. Bonn, London, Paris and Rome get orders from Washington on how to make use of the difficulties in Poland.

The activities of the American authorities and the reactionary forces in connection with the events in Poland are only one aspect of the entire American foreign policy of striving to regain world domination. Answering a question on the events in Poland, President Reagan reaffirmed the actual goal of U.S. imperialism by saying: "What we see in Poland is the beginning of the end of world communism."

Since 1971, Plans for Throttling Socialism

Of course, this leading spokesman of big business hopes that the shattering of socialism in Poland will be the beginning of the end of socialism in the world. The shattering of socialism has always been the goal of U.S. imperialism. This is the great plan, the general plan of conspiracy of the banks and concerns.

Since the emergence of the first socialist country in 1971, U.S. capitalism and its aggressive foreign policy have always been guided by the fanatic idea of throttling socialism. Since 1917 American foreign policy has been aiming at making use of any problem, any difficulty, and rupture and any gap, any weakness in any socialist country in order to weaken and shatter the socialist world. Now the American private banks which granted Poland loans say unofficially: "We have a basis in Poland," that is profits and influence, which are the only goal of American investments in any country.

FORTUNE, the big business magazine, revealed that the banks view their role as a "financial gendarme of the Polish Government." In discussing their role in Poland, the prognosis was made that "the American banks will remain in Poland for a long time." As private banks conduct business only for profit, they are striving to get the absolute maximum profit from all investments they make. In their efforts to act as "financial gendarme," the American banks exert all efforts to get all capitalist banks, whose loans to Poland are due, not to refinance the debts nor hold new negotiations on capital or interest payments. The American banks persist that for all loans the provoking rate of interest of 21.75 percent must be paid. The United States is the leading world gendarme of reaction, and no means is too low for them to reach their goals.

CIA Subversion and Intervention

One should know about the true intentions of U.S. imperialism and its counterrevolutionary instruments--the CIA and FBI. The CIA has special departments for all countries. The Poland departments of the CIA, the Department of State and other secret service institutions of the U.S. Government were established shortly after the foundation of the Polish People's Republic in 1944. Since the founding of socialist Poland, the U.S. Government has pursued in every respect a well-planned and well-implemented policy of subversion, intervention and anti-Polish conspiracy. Reactionary capitalist politicians like Zbigniew Brzezinski have been conspirators against socialist Poland throughout their lives.

The agents and spies of the CIA and FBI, who visit Poland or live there, are no average spies. They have received comprehensive training in policy and ideology. They are experts in taking advantage of and distorting real difficulties and grievances about which the people complain. They are masters of manipulation and distortion of national consciesness and national pride. They are skillful in making use of slander, rumours and insinuations. They are well trained in applying antisocialism and anti-Sovietism. These American agents are taught not to take extreme positions, as long as the crisis-like situation continues. The CIA has a special plan for the use of persons who speak the "mother tongue." From these counterrevolutionary activities, it results that not all of the so-called visitors are "tourists." Not all of those who "return to their mother country" are true "returnees."

The Voice of America is the voice of American big business, which penetrates the ether waves with its poison. It is the propaganda mill of the CIA.

In their zealous ambitions, the American enterprises and the CIA do not shrink from political interference. They regard Poland as a bridgehead to the other socialist countries. They view the shattering of socialist Poland, which geographically is situated in the heart of the community of socialist states, as a first step in implementing their 65-year old dream of shattering socialism everywhere.

This was the only goal of the economic boycott and economic blockade against the first socialist state, which the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France and Italy had imposed on the Soviet Union immediately after its emergence.

The Slogan of 'Destabilization'

This was also the intention of the intervention troops of the United States, Germany, Great Britain, France, Italy, Austria and other countries, when in 1919 their armed forces invaded the Soviet Union and were extruded only after 2 years of military invasion.

That was the intention of the United States, France, Germany and Great Britain immediately before World War II, when they refused to react to urgent appeals of the Soviet Union to form a united front against Hitlerite fascism. This appeal, which was not agreed to, would among other things have saved Poland and Czechoslovakia from the terrible destruction due to the invasion by Hitler's Germany. Instead, the United States, France and Great Britain exerted all their efforts to start the machinery of war against the Soviet Union. This was called the period of infamous "mock war."

This was also the aim of the "cold war", the policy of "pushing back the borders of socialism," openly pursued by Dulles. In the era under John Foster Dulles, this U.S. policy vis-a-vis the socialist world was called a policy of "containment and rollback." The aim was not only to prevent an expansion of socialism but also to push it back, by staging armed counterrevolution in the socialist countries of Eastern Europe, to the borders of the Soviet Union--and finally even farther.

Now, due to the changes in the balance of power in the world in favor of anti-imperialism, a parallel change in the tactics of counterrevolution has occurred. Its main goal is to undermine and soften the socialist countries from within and prepare the ground for counterrevolutionary elements to assume power. The aim is a so-called "peaceful counterrevolution."

But the capitalist class is always and everywhere an enemy of the workers class and of socialism by nature. The tactics may change, but the strategy remains the same. The methods used in the untiring efforts to reach the goal are not a secret. The key word of their tactics and plans has always been "destabilization." The aim of "destabilization" is to create confusion and political purposelessness as well as anxiety, and to produce anarchy and chaos. "Destabilization" was the slogan of the American tactics to overthrow the progressive and democratically elected government of Salvador Allende in 1973 in Chile.

This was the tactic used by the CIA in order to overthrow the democratically elected Mossadeq government in Iran in 1953 and the Arbenz government in Guatemala in 1954. "Destabilization" was also the main factor in the tactics applied in 1956 vis-a-vis Hungary and in 1968 vis-a-vis Czechoslovakia of subversion and interference.

When in Chile, Iran and Guatemala the democratically elected governments were overthrown, the transnational enterprises of the United States moved forward with all their strength and took possession of the oil resources and other natural resources. It is a hard lesson of history that in all three cases in which democratic governments were overthrown, brutal militaristic and fascist governments took their place. The trade unions--even the most conservative ones--and other people's organizations were shattered. Terror, torture, murder and manslaughter characterized the everyday life of the peoples in these countries.

In most cases, the process of "destabilization" started with strikes. In all cases they were abused and directed into political channels. The strikes and demonstrations resulted in economic crises. And in every individual case, rightist counterrevolutionary forces took action in order to further destabilize the situation. This is the pattern which has been pursued by U.S. imperialism for a long time.

The main factor of the "destabilization" plan is always to undermine and weaken the influence and the prestige of the political leadership. In all cases the standard method for undermining confidence in the party leadership is to make advantage of and exaggerate its earlier faults, and distort and devalue the role and achievements of the party. In Poland, for instance, the antisocialist forces attempt to deny the historic role of the Polish party in the victory over German fascism, in the successful development of the industrial basis and in securing the peaceful construction of socialism in Poland for more than 37 years.

The incitement to rowdyism and vandalism as well as disorientation and anarchy in production and ideological confusion are old, tested tactics of the CIA. It is a master in the use of all these counterrevolutionary methods.

In all countries in which the CIA operated--among them Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Chile, Iran and Guatemala, where it has done enormous damage--the forces of counterrevolution penetrated and took possession of the mass media--television, radio and press.

In the CIA handbook of counterrevolution such key words as "socialism with a human face," "socialist renewal," "liberalization," "independence," "democratic socialism," and "reform" are nothing else but code names to create an atmosphere of confusion, anxiety and chaos and to involve the population in antisocialist activities.

In the United States, there are workers and other citizens who truly want to help the Polish people. Among them are such people who are convinced that socialism is really the next historically necessary step on mankind's path toward progress. Paradoxically, those people who are in favor of strikes in Poland are the same people who in the United States appear as the greatest trade union opponents and strike breakers, if the workers and their trade unions are concerned. The bankers, reactionary politicians and highest trade union leaders, the mass media, extreme rightist reactionaries and fascist forces who make the greatest noise over Poland, could hardly have an interest in the welfare of Poland or the Polish people. They are not in favor of socialism, no matter what face it has. They are interested in completely shattering socialism. They are not interested in correcting the faults and weaknesses of former leaders. Their main concern is isolating and undermining the position of all legal leading personalities. They show neither sympathy nor concern about the Polish people and their problems. They only want to take advantage of the Polish people for their own selfish aims.

The main characteristic of the Reagan-Haig government is to finance and supply with arms all reactionary, counterrevolutionary forces supporting imperialism.

Capital Pretends Concern About the Trade Union's Rights

The export of counterrevolution is the main factor of its foreign policy. This has been made state policy by the Reagan administration. What matters is no more--and no less--than to find the best possibility of taking advantage of the problems in Poland for its own selfish and reactionary aims.

The basic principle of American foreign policy is to create a situation--wherever possible --in which the American banks and the transnational companies appear on the scene and can use the natural resources, the advantage of low wages and any situation for the only purpose of increasing their already high profits. The people and their concerns are not at all included in the calculations of monopolism. Its representatives have no sympathy, no conscience and no interest in people at all.

The antisocialist forces in the United States, which are most loudly calling for supporting the Polish "reform and independence," are the same which hide their really counterrevolutionary motives behind deceitful talk about concern about the human and trade union rights of the Polish workers. They are exactly those forces which have never supported strikes in the United States or other capitalist countries. But if there are strikes in a socialist country, which is only rarely the case, then these hypocrites are the first ones to take up the strike's demands.

One of the most infamous American politicians who is involved in the American conspiracy against Poland is Zbigniew Brzezinski, who as early as 1965 showed in his book "Alternative to Division" the use of American economic and political means for promoting "A) The independence of East European socialist countries from the Soviet Union, and B) The internal liberalization of these countries." By such a process, these countries will again come under the capitalist sphere of influence, according to his opinion.

In 1968 Herbert Kahn, director of the Hudson Institute, a reactionary brain trust, developed his ideas on the future of Poland as follows: First transform it into "a socialist democracy with capitalist shades" and then "overthrow the communist leadership of Poland."

Anti-Sovietism -- Main Point of the Attacks

All these spokesmen and henchmen of U.S. capitalism have one and only one task, for which they are generously paid, and that is to start greater and better schemes for destroying socialism, because socialism impairs the greater profits of American enterprises. This is the only goal of U.S. imperialism's plans for regaining world domination.

Anti-Sovietism has been and remains the main point of its ideologic attacks, as the Soviet Union is the center and the stronghold of socialism, national liberation, detente and peace. U.S. imperialism uses the same big lie, which for instance Hitler's Germany used for concealing its invasion of Poland. The cover of Nazi Germany for the invasion into Poland was "the Soviet threat."

Today--in continuation of that--falsifications, lies and distortions about socialism are spread. The great lie is the ideological umbrella under which the counterrevolutionary and antisocialist forces appear to start a policy of subversion and undermining against the socialist countries, and a policy of aggression against those countries that are struggling for national liberation.

In every region of the world, the Reagan policy is a danger to the national and economic independence of nations and peoples. The Reagan government tries to set back the clock to the time after World War II, the "good old days" of American imperialism, when it was the main financial backer of the world, had the arms arsenal of the world and the food stocks of the world.

With its policy, the Reagan government is moving against the stream of history. With its strategy of counterrevolution it will not be successful. The nations and peoples will no longer put up with the predomination of U.S. imperialism and with exploitation by it.

The Polish people will have the means and the strength in themselves in order to reject this attempt of imperialist interference and subversion. By the fraternal assistance and support of the community of socialist countries, in the first place the Soviet Union, and accompanied by the best wishes of all progressive peoples, the Polish people will find the strength and means to master all impairments and continue their path of building a better, richer, more meaningful and more productive life in socialism.

VERNER, STOPH RECEIVE OUTGOING UK ENVOY

LD161946 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Jul (ADN)--Paul Verner, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of State, received in Berlin on Thursday, the British Ambassador Peter Martin Foster for his farewell visit.

Paul Verner said that the further shaping of bilateral relations was of mutual interest in all areas and served peace. He thanked Ambassador Foster for his work towards the development of these relations and asked him to convey greetings from Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR Council of State, to Queen Elizabeth and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

Premier Willi Stoph received the British ambassador on his farewell visit on Thursday.

YOUNG U.S. CITIZEN HANDED OVER TO EMBASSY

AU161130 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 15 Jul 81 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)--On 14 July 1981 15-year old U.S. citizen Eva Herbst from New York was handed over to a staff member of the U.S. Embassy in the GDR for repatriation. She was apprehended in the GDR without any identification documents.

GERHARD SCHUERER RECEIVES MOZAMBIQUE MINISTER

LD101642 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0959 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 10 Jul (ADN)--Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, received Juliozamith Carrilho, member of the Frelimo Party Central Committee and minister of public works and housing of the People's Republic of Mozambique, for a friendly talk today. They praised the results of the fourth meeting of the GDR-Mozambique joint economic commission, formed as a result of the friendship treaty between the GDR and Mozambique which was signed by Erich Honecker and Samora Machel in February 1979. The meeting ended this week with the signing of important documents.

Schuerer discussed with his guest further questions of long-term economic and scientific-technical cooperation in important economic sectors. Both sides agreed to continue regular consultations of the central planning organs and to intensify and deepen up to 1985 the coordination of the economic plans already begun.

GUINEA-BISSAU DELEGATION ARRIVES FOR VISIT

LD161724 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1503 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Jul (ADN)--The defense minister of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Paulo Correia, arrived today at the head of a military delegation in Berlin for a visit to the GDR lasting several days. During his stay, Paulo Correia will visit troop units and installations of the GDR National People's Army.

On the first day of the visit, the delegation saw the state frontier of the GDR with West Berlin. Paulo Correia honored the victims of fascism and militarism at the monument Unter den Linden in Berlin, accompanied by GDR Deputy Defense Minister Col Gen Werner Fleissner, and the city commander, Lieut Gen Karl-Heinz Drews.

SRV OFFICERS GRADUATE AT ENGLES MILITARY ACADEMY

AU131930 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11-12 Jul 81 p 2

[ADN report: "Vietnamese Officers Graduated in Dresden"]

[Text] Dresden (ADN)--For the first time, officers of the Vietnamese people's army successfully defended their theses on selected topics of military science at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy in Dresden after several years of post-graduate studies. At a solemn ceremony, Lt Gen Prof Hans Wieser, chief of the highest GDR military training facility, presented the graduation certificates and conveyed the congratulations of the faculty.

Capt Dr Nguyen Van Chau thanked the military academy for its constant selfless support, and valued the successfully concluded postgraduate studies as another proof of the firm comradeship in class and arms between the National People's Army and the SRV armed forces. Present was Lt Col (Phan Trong Ngu) SRV military, naval and air attache.

OFFICIALS ATTEND FUNERAL SERVICE FOR MICHAEL KOHL

LD142111 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1602 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jul (ADN)--The SED Central Committee paid their last respects to Dr Michael Kohl at a funeral service on Tuesday. At Berlin-Friedrichs Felde Cemetary, relatives, comrades and friends took their leave of the late candidate Central Committee member and deputy GDR foreign minister, who died on 4 July at the age of 51.

Joining the widow, children and other relatives of the deceased, SED Politburo Member Hermann Axen, Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and other members of party and state leadership paid tribute to the dead man. Also present were representatives of the diplomatic corps.

Minister Fischer gave the eulogy. He stressed that Michael Kohl had devoted his life to the service of the SED and GDR and proved himself to be a reliable and loyal defender of the cause of socialism in all the tasks given to him by the party and government. "As is expected of a communist, he devoted his strength unreservedly to strengthening the GDR and consolidating its international position."

The minister outlined the life of Michael Kohl who, in his youth, found his way to the party of the working class. As state secretary under the Council of Ministers, he proved in complicated negotiations with the West Berlin Senate and the FRG to be a circumspect state official who stuck to his principles. He played a direct part in bringing about the treaties and agreements which are important not only for the GDR's interests, but for the consolidation of the process of detente in Europe.

Oskar Fischer emphasized Michael Kohl's service in making the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG a body which always worked unswervingly for the interests of the socialist fatherland.

ACADEMIC SZABO KALMAN SEEKS ASYLUM IN GREECE

NC140932 Paris AFP in English 0848 GMT 14 Jul 81

[Text] Athens, 14 Jul (AFP)--A Hungarian today requested political asylum in Greece after jumping from an embassy window here soon after the arrival in Athens of Hungarian Prime Minister Gyorgy Lazar, officials said.

He was named as Szabo Kalman, 41, an academic who arrived in Greece on June 26 from his home town of Kassa, leaving his Greek wife and two daughters in Budapest.

Officials said he made the asylum request when interviewed by Greek police in hospital early today about his fall last night from the second floor of the Hungarian Embassy in the Athens suburbs.

He reportedly told them he was summoned to the embassy late last night to discuss working an an interpreter during the official visit to Greece by Prime Minister Lazar, who arrived here last night.

While talking to embassy staff he suddenly feared his life was in danger and jumped from a window, according to the version police said they were given.

He was taken to a hospital on the edge of Athens, where a spokesman described his condition today as grave.

LOSONCZI GREETS IRAQI PRESIDENT SADDAM HUSAYN

LD162020 Budapest MTI in English 1713 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Budapest, 1 Jul (MTI)--Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, has sent a telegram of greetings to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, on the country's national day.

Gyorgy Lazar, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, has greeted Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy prime minister of Iraq, on the same occasion.

GUINEA-BISSAU DEFENSE MINISTER CORREIA DEPARTS

LD161034 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The Guinea-Bissau defense minister, Paulo Correia, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, has left Budapest after a visit to Hungary at the invitation of Defense Minister Army Gen Lajos Czinege. He was also received by Deputy Premier Janos Borbandi.

BRIEFS

NEW AMBASSADOR TO IRAQ--Zoltan Pereszlenyi, our country's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary accredited to the Republic of Iraq, on 8 July resented his credentials to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 10 Jul 81 p 4 AU]

DELEGATION TO IRAQ-- Heading a party government delegation, Janos Hoos, member of the MSZMP Central Committee and secretary of state of the National Planning Office, has gone to the Republic of Iraq, where he will attend the festivities staged on the occasion of the anniversary of the 14-17 July revolution. [Excerpt] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Jul 81 p 3 AU]

REPORTAGE ON NINTH EXTRAORDINARY PZPR CONGRESS

Electoral Commission Report

LD162302 Warsaw PAP in English 1632 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--The third day of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress started at 8:30 a.m. today with a closed-door session attended by delegates only. The session was chaired by delegate from the voivodship of Szczecin Zenon Pyda, first secretary of the PUWP factory committee at the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin.

The assembly heard a report by chairman of the Electoral Commission Henryk Bednarski, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Bydgoszcz. Here is text:

"In accordance with the resolution adopted by the congress, the Electoral Commission presents basic lists with the names of 200 candidates for Central Committee membership, 70 candidates for CC alternate membership, 70 candidates for membership of the Central Audit Commission, and 90 candidates for membership of the Central Commission for Party Control. The Electoral Commission also presents proposals for candidates submitted additionally. In line with the provision set out in the electoral regulations at the 9th congress, the number of the latter does not exceed 50 per cent of the number of candidates on the basic lists.

"Following many consultations, all voivodship teams of delegates and the central team approved of this way of forming the lists of candidates. After the bulletin carrying the lists of candidates went to print, the Electoral Commission received further motions postulating changes or corrections in them. Yesterday the commission considered all proposals, thus taking into account all postulates from the voivodship teams of delegates. Part of the last-minute changes and supplements were presented in the errata enclosed in the report of the Electoral Commission's Presidium. In our opinion, the candidates for the party central authorities enjoy full confidence of their party organizations.

"[Words indistinct] candidates were drawn up in a profoundly democratic manner by the delegates to the congress themselves in a broad consultation with party organizations and activists in individual voivodships. The voivodship teams of delegates made a thorough evaluation of the comrades proposed to enter the authorities. In some cases, teams submitted their own candidates elected in secret ballot.

"In its activities, the Electoral Commission was guided by the profound belief that while presenting their candidates, the voivodship teams had thoroughly considered all proposals and took into account all criteria which candidates for posts in the party's central authorities should meet. The commission studied all written statements from the candidates in which they confirmed their consent to being granted the status of candidates. On this basis, the commission declares that all candidates from both the basic and the additional lists voiced their consent in this respect.

"The commission put me under the obligation to present to the delegates essential information on the candidates.

"All in all, names of 618 comrades will appear on all lists to be printed on election ballots. Hence, nearly every third delegate to the congress is running for a post in the party authorities. The exact proportion is 31 percent.

"I would like to stress that 159 candidates, that is over 20 per cent, are workers. By way of reminder, in the heretofore composition of the Central Committee, the Central Audit Commission, and Central Commission for Party Control there were 62 of them, or some 20 per cent. Farmers account for nearly 8 per cent of all candidates, against a mere 8 farmers in the former authorities. Among the candidates at present are 50 farmers, 4 state farm workers, and 6 farming cooperative members.

"The lists feature representatives of all sectors of the national economy, all voivodships, all basic social and vocational milieus and age groups. 289 candidates are employed in industry and construction, 31 work for transport, 19 are scientific workers, 15 represent the health service, and 28 are employed in the educational system. Moreover, there are 35 officers and soldiers of the Polish People's Army, who represent party organizations in the Army of PUWP voivodship organizations.

"The proportion of women among the candidates is comparatively small. However, the commission would like to point to the fact that women account for a mere 5 percent of all delegates to the congress.

"Among the candidates are representatives of all Polish trade unions. 75 per cent are members of Branch Unions, and the rest are affiliated in the Solidarity union and Autonomous Unions.

"Candidates represent all generations of Polish communists. 78 comrades started their party membership rating before the unification congress as the Polish Workers' Party and the Polish Socialist Party members. Nearly 50 per cent of all candidates have party membership rating of two decades or more. Over then candidates are young activists whose rating is 3-5 years. Included in the number of candidates are 5 veterans of the working class movement who are not delegates to the congress but were granted eligibility by the congress.

"Ninety-five per cent of all candidates hold elective party posts in party links of all levels. They include 38 secretaries of PUWP factory committees, 21 secretaries of rural community, town and commune, town or district committees, and 46 are secretaries of voivodship committees. 72 comrades are members of the outgoing party authorities. The latter account for 12 per cent of all candidates. Young people form a substantial proportion of candidates: nearly 70 per cent of candidates are aged between 35 and 50.

"The Electoral Commission warmly recommends all candidates to the assembly. We do so while being deeply convinced that they provide the guarantee and certainty of fulfilling the expectations of our party, which expects election of reliable authorities, able to lead the party and to consolidate its ranks and further lead the country along the way of socialist renewal."

[Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish at 1300 GMT on 16 July also reports on the Electoral Commission report, adding: "At the end of the morning deliberations behind closed doors, the proposals of candidates to the PZPR Central Committee, to the Central Auditing Commission and to the Central Party Control Commission were adopted."

Congress Spokesman Interviewed

LD161804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Interview with PZPR Congress spokesman Wieslaw Bek by two unidentified correspondents and presented by Stanislaw (Stef)--date and place not given--live or recorded]

[Excerpt] [Stef] We undertake to present now the first report on the work of the 16 problem groups, which group together delegates in accordance with their interests, training and qualifications. Unfortunately, we cannot keep our word because the delegates have changed the agenda of the debates. From 0830 up until lunchtime, the debate went on behind closed doors. As always in such a situation, the only authorized commentator on that part of the deliberations is the congress press spokesman. Wieslaw Bek will now speak:

[Bek] The congress decided yesterday evening, that from this morning closed deliberations will also begin. The idea was to discuss and to decide on the list of candidates for all party authorities and, therefore, for the Central Committee, [words indistinct] elections for members and candidate members of the Central Committee and for the Central Auditing Commission.

I remind you that for the first time we will be electing the Central Party Control Commission directly at the congress. For that reason the decision was made for the work in groups to begin today at 1500 only. The deliberations before noon, at the closed session, served to discuss the candidacies. The delegates put many questions to the announced candidates, which they answered. That is why that session, that meeting, lasted so long. The result, however, of that session is the specification of the number of candidates. So for the Central Committee, for members of the Central Committee, there will be 275 comrades standing. The Central Committee, I remind you--this decision was taken earlier on in the congress--will comprise 200 members.

One hundred and five comrades will also be standing for election as candidate members of the Central Committee, for 70 places.

The Central Auditing Commission, which as decided, will comprise 70 people, has a list of candidates comprising (?one hundred names). [passage indistinct]

Finally, the Central Party Control Commission: There are 135 delegates for 90 places.

During today's session also rising to speak was, of course, the chairman of the Election Commission who discussed the make-up of the candidates for the proposed authorities.

[Question] Comrade editor, you say that the nominations were discussed and that questions were asked. How, in this connection, should one interpret the work done in this sphere by voivodship congress teams since, after all, these nominations were examined and discussed there and all doubts were cleared up? While we are on the subject, may I ask another question? What sort of questions were these? What were the candidates asked?

[Answer] Perhaps I will answer the first question first. The preparatory work which was done in the voivodship delegates' teams could not have any binding force. Quite simply the comrades were deliberating as to which of them should stand for which authorities. This is how the preliminary list, a preliminary proposal for nominations to certain authorities, came into being. But it is up to the congress to determine this list and to make sure whether the nominations submitted are suitable or not. And this is leading up to the answer to the second question: Quite simply many bad things, as is well known, took place in our past, the consequences of which all of society is feeling so profoundly. And this is why the delegates asked many candidates questions in order to let them explain their stance or to let them explain the foundations of these stances. This is a normal procedure which this time at the congress was (?prolonged).

[Question] You say this is a normal procedure but did it really exist at any time in the past in the practice of work done by congresses?

[Answer] Things varied a lot. I confirm this doubt which is contained in the question. But such a right also existed before for all intents and purposes. But now the delegates are availing themselves of this right on a broad scale.

[Question] In other words, great care and special precision are being taken as regards getting to know candidates and there is no room for any vague statements. This was the view of one of the delegates who spoke to us briefly during a break.

[Answer] Precisely. I would like to confirm the statement of this delegate. The questions and the discussion which took place during the whole of the morning congress session were aimed in this direction.

[Question] How will this latest day at the congress continue?

[Answer] Today we shall, as I have already mentioned, be carrying on discussions in 16 teams.

These discussion are delayed but the congress [words indistinct] decide about the time and course of its deliberations and in the small evening hours a closed session is also envisaged.

[Question] Can we, on behalf of our listeners, ask you to make another statement at the end of today's day at the congress?

[Answer] If possible, then of course.

Delegate Closed Door Debates

LD161400 Warsaw PAP in English 1334 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--The greatest controversy was aroused by the question of elegibility for elections to the supreme party authorities for veterans of working class movement, said Jerzy Majka, one of the delegates for the 9th congress, answering SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily's question about the course of debates held behind closed doors.

Majka explained further that many delegates were of the opinion that no one besides those carrying the mandate of congress delegate, irrespective of their past merits, can be a candidate in elections. After a long and heated discussion it was agreed to make an exception for five veterans of the Polish working class movement. They are Michal Rola Zymierski, Felicja Fornalski, Franciszek Ksiezarczyk, Feliks Baranowski and Jerzy Putrament.

Majka said that there were two differing views among the delegates on how to elect the first secretary of the Central Committee. There were some who maintained that if he were elected directly by the congress, above the heads of the Central Committee, it would strengthen his position to the point where he might stop paying attention to the rest of the leading collective. He could free himself from all supervision which might lead to a repetition of errors and deformations.

The advocates of a prompt vote for a new party leader countered that with an assertion that the situation in Poland required quick decisions as the whole society attaches great weight to the person of first secretary. The first view prevailed by a small majority of [words indistinct] 60 votes.

The result of the voting cannot be treated as a preelection poll, Majka said further. In his view it reflected the difference of opinions on the substance and not on personal choices. "This was a truly democratic pre-congress campaign and this is a truly democratic congress," Majka concluded.

Problem Teams Hold Discussions

LD162154 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Thursday is the third day of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress held in Warsaw. At present the congress participants are holding discussions in 16 problem teams. The matters being dealt with at this forum relate to practically all the fundamental currents in party activity, [word indistinct] with the most important political, social and economic problems of Poland, with the strengthening of intraparty democracy.

The session of the First Problem Team at the congress is being conducted under the theme "The ideological and organizational unity of the PZPR, the leading role of the party in the struggle for socialist renewal." There are almst 200 persons in this team. They are discussing the basic problems of intraparty life. There is a particular accent on the necessity of ensuring party unity in a period that is so difficult for the party and for Poland. The session is being chaired by Juliusz (Bittner), delegate from the Tarnobrzeg Voivodship.

The Second Problem Team, under the chairmanship of Stanislaw Ciosek, delegate from the Bydgoszcz organization, minister for trade union affairs, is meeting in the party Central Committee building and deliberating "the role of the statute of the PZPR in the activity of the party." The central idea of the discussion is the introduction of such changes and supplements to the statute as will create a real guarantee that Leninist principles will be observed in the party in practice, that will provide a basis for a correct functioning of the relations between democracy and centralism--which have been unsettled in the past--and will also define in accordance with present needs the leading role of the PZPR in society. These matters have a tremendous significance, both for the party itself and for the totality of political relations in our country.

The Third Problem Team chaired by Jerzy (Romanik), Katowice Voivodship delegate, is discussing "the problmes of socialist democracy and self-government--the strengthening of rule of law and of the socialist state." It is stressed here that one of the main sources of the crisis of confidence, both with society and with the authorities, was the fact that the executive apparatus--both of the state and of the party--effectively managed to free itself from effective control by party members, by the representative organs, the working class, and the whole of society. In order not to bury in fruitless discussions, the opportunity that is currently opening up in front of the nation it is necessary that energetic action be taken on two levels: first consistently looking for ways to achieve social agreement on the basis of the socialist system, and second beginning as rapidly as possible to extricate our economy from the deep crisis. The broadest masses of the Poles must take part in this.

The editor in chief of GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Lodz leads the debate of the Fourth Problem team which is discussing the role of the press, radio and television. It is emphasized that it is the duty of journalists--especially from the party--to actively participate in the defense and strengthening of the socialist system, in the uniting of political forces in common actions and in the creation of a climate in society for the undertaking of actions for the overcoming of the present difficulties.

Problems of the young generations are the scope of topics of the Fifth Problem Team. The debate is chaired by a collegiate nine member team presidium composed of members of the Ninth Congress Presidium. They expressed the desire to work in the team on questions of living conditions, science, culture, leisure, job opportunities and the activities of youth organizations.

The Sixth Problem Team chaired by the editor in chief of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, Jan Glowczyk, deals with problems of economic policy and economic reform. In addition to 200 congress delegates, many eminent representatives of science and partitioners are taking part in this team's work.

The Seventh Problem Team of the Ninth PZPR Congress chairmed by Adam Towalik, deals with one of the key socioeconomic problems, namely, matters of market supply and the restoration of market equilibrium. Its task will be, inter alia, to propose to the congress methods and ways for the discontinuation of processes which are having a destructive influence on the market.

The members of the Eighth Problem Team chaired by Wlocvawek Voivodship delegate Edward Szymanski, are discussing matters of Polish foreign policy, economic cooperation and foreign trade exchanges. It was noted that despite the fact that we are now chiefly occupied with difficult matters of the country, we must pay keen attention to the aspirations of the capitalist world for confrontation with the socialist countries and their desire to impose on us a rapid arms race. It is the goal of Polish foreign policy and the whole socialist camp to safeguard the sovereign existence of our states, and security and peace. Speakers are especially stressing the significance of the close partnerlike political and economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, and that the most important task in our economic relations with other countries is to increase exports.

The session of the Ninth Problem Team on "problems of a rational utilization of raw material and fuel and energy resources--coal--the fundamental wealth of the nation," is chaired by Miroslaw Major, chief mining engineer at the Staszic hard coal mine.

The 10th Problem Team for "fundamental problems of the development of the countryside, agriculture and food economy" chaired by Henryk (Preyvowski), is debating some of the most important issues, in fact, decisive issues for the success of the effort of the whole of the nation for extrication from the profound crisis. This team has set itself the objective of carrying out a deep analysis of sociopolitical phenomena and of indicating ways of extricating the country from the food crisis. In other words, a concrete establishment of what must be done to ensure the development of agriculture and an increase in food supplies under the current complicated conditions is the point in question. To this end, as it was stressed already at the beginning of the sessions, a consistent implementation of constantly improved agricultural policy, is essential, with making particular provisions for the establishment of the stabilization of private economy together with the legal justification of the inheritance right. The second condition for extricating the country from the food crisis was said to be the ensuring of the profitability of production and an adequate supply of agriculture with the industrial means of production.

The 11th Problem Team, chaired by Eugeniusz Duraczynski, head of the department for science and education of the party Central Committee, is discussing the problems of national education and culture. In addition to the delegates, well-known artists and cultural figures are participating in the team's work. Invited guests, prominent theoreticians and practitioners of cultural and educational life are in the hall.

The 12th Problem Team of the congress, which is examining the issues of science and technology in the service of the national economy, has begun its session under the chairmanship of Assistant Professor Tadeusz Chmielniak, dean of a department at the Silesian Polytechnic. The questions under discussion are those of the past, present and future participation of Polish science in the development of the country, the policy of the state toward science and technology, the participation of scientists in decision processes, the effectiveness of scientific work and the conditions for it, and finally the role of party organizations which are active in the scientific milieu. A document on education prepared by the party organization of the Polish academy of sciences constitutes one of the bases for the animated discussion.

At the session of the 13th Problem Team which deals with problems of the protection of health and of the natural environment, the statement was made that this subject belongs to the most important areas which, apart from providing food for the nation, should be given a suitable place and priority. The community attaches much importance to the issues of improving the medical service and the protection of living conditions. Invited guests, specialists from various areas of medicine, representatives of scientific ministries and institutes are participating in the session. Professor Mieczyslaw Luciak, from the Katowice Medical Academy, was elected chairman of the session.

Mieczyslaw Rakowski is chairing the discussion in the 14th Problem Team which is devoted to the issue of the party and the trade union movement. He stated, among other things, that there exists within the largest trade union, Solidarity, a dangerous trend which precludes the possibility of agreement with the party and the state. The representatives of this trend, mainly KOR activists, are demanding the incapacitation of the party while leaving the existing state structures. In their view, the party should deal at the most with foreign policy and with the issues of state defense. Referring to the Solidarity statute, Mieczyslaw Rakowski pointed out that it was to be a guarantee of its socialist character. However, everyone who analyzes the activities of some of the management teams of this union, observes that the statute regulations are systematically broken. The party, Mieczyslaw Rakowski went on, is striving for the differentiated trade union movement to preserve ideological and political unity in the interest of the working world. The demand of verification, adopted at the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum, of the assessment which blames the trade union movement for the present crisis has interwoven the discussion.

The 15th Problem Team tackled the problems of broad social policy, comprising matters connected with social services, conditions of family life and housing policy. Taking part in the deliberations as experts are representatives of scientific circles, of the Planning Commission, ministries, trade unions and other social organizations. The duties of chairman of the group were entrusted to Zygmunt (Galecki) from Warsaw.

The 16th Problem Team is discussing PZPR cadre policy. The primary search is for an answer to the question: how to perfect the principles of party work with cadres in the new political and socioeconomic conditions, and how to formulate a system of guarantees effectively protecting against infringements of those principles in practice, against errors being committed. Criticism of previous cadre policy applies, it is stated, not so much to a lack of criteria, as to a lack of consistency in applying these requirements. For that reason, a consistent, clear, socially approved choice and assessment of cadres is recognized as an indispensable condition for overcoming the crisis, for rebuilding confidence in the party, in its policy and aims. Cadre policy is not only, as was already stressed by the initial speaker in the discussion, the filling of managerial posts. It must be a joint system of training professional and principled cadres, of their proper assessment and of observing a rotation system, so that leaving a post is not equivalent to a human drama. The team is chaired by Zbigniew Krzyzanowski.

More on Teams' Work

LD170904 Warsaw PAP in English 2125 GMT 16 Jul 81

["Congress Task Groups At Work"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--Ideological and organizational unity of the PUWP, the leading role of the party in the struggle for the socialist renewal was discussed by Task Group One.

In this task group the keynote of all voices in the discussion, that was opened by member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, was concern over the authentic, Marxist-Leninist character of the party, over its ideological principles, unity and its leading role.

Too many young people, it was stressed, join the party automatically, not being properly ideologically and emotionally motivated. The party must succeed in its fight for the support of the youth.

The party's new programme must be a programme meeting social expectations, at the same time being also a workable one. The participants in the discussion also criticized the hitherto personnel policy of the party and the so-called "nomenclature."

An animated polemics also arose around the matter of properly defining the roles that the Polish Socialist Party and the Workers' Party of Polish Socialists had played in the history of the workers movement.

Task Group Two debated on the role of the PUWP statute in the activities of the party. The debates were chaired by Minister for Union Affairs Stanislaw Ciosek. Members of the congress' statutory commission with [word indistinct] (?and) PUWP CC Secretary Zdzislaw Kurowski took part in the debates.

The group examined amendments which could serve as genuine guarantees of practical observance of Leninist principles in the party, ensure correct relations between centralism and democratism and define the PUWP's leading role in the society in keeping with the current needs.

The proposed amendments to the statute concern expanding rights and duties of party members, and rights of the basic party organizations.

The debaters discussed issues of broadening rights of eligible authorities, defining their current control over executives and secretariats on all levels. They are also attempting to formulate statutory principles of controlling the authorities by PUWP members and basic (?party) organizations.

Delegates suggested to include into the statute clearly defined and democratic principles of electing authorities and delegates, regulations concerning terms of office and a general ban on entrusting one person with several party, state and social functions on the same level of action.

Task Group Three dealt with problems of socialist democracy and self-government, consolidation of the rule of law and the socialist state.

The discussion in this task group was initiated by member of the CC Political Bureau, Supreme Chamber of Control (NIK) Chairman Mieczyslaw Moczar. Drawing attention to the fact that the resolving of social conflicts and the construction of confidence towards the party is taking place in stormy and tense circumstances, Moczar pointed to the necessity of taking up energetic and rational actions on two planes: a consistent search for social understanding within the framework of a socialist state and the possibly soonest initiation of steps aimed at getting the Polish economy out of the profound crisis.

The participants in the discussion postulated the initiative of legislatory work over a new system of electing members of state and party authorities. A proposal was addressed to the congress to take a stand on the issue of setting up the office of the president of the Polish People's Republic, a tribunal of state and a constitutional tribunal. One of the delegates thought it necessary to find a formula for the new front of national agreement through introducing significant changes with the present National Unity Front.

Task Group Four focused on the role of the press, radio and television in the ideological, educational and propaganda role of the party. The discussion was attended by members of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski, congress delegates and members of the editorial boards of press agencies, newspapers, radio and television and the Association of Polish Journalists.

The discussion stressed that during the last 11 months Polish mass media have done a lot to regain social confidence. Rapid and reliable information is necessary to party members and the society, serving the restoration of the party's credibility.

Much attention was paid to the need of making information circulation more efficient. The participants in the task group pointed to the necessity of activating the party press in the polemics with the views expressed by other papers, including Solidarity's publications.

The task group was also in favor of quick passing of the law on censorship by the Sejm [parliament] and expressed the need for starting to work out a new press law. The participants in the discussion voiced concern over the limiting of the circulation and volume of many papers and periodicals, due to paper shortage, and a proposal was put forth of founding a social committee to analyse these matters, including journalists.

Task Group Five dealt with problems of the young generation in People's Poland. Discussion centered on the problems of the ideological education of young people. Such education, it was stressed, cannot be conceived of with it being ensured a proper representation of its interests, this meaning a right to genuinely participate in socialist democracy. [sentence as received]

The relations between the party and the socialist youth associations were recognized as issues of major importance. In the past, such relations did not develop in a correct way.

Member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, President of the Council of State Henryk Jablonski stated, inter alia, that if Poles really want to carry out the renewal then simultaneously with improving the national economy management system and making administration and central planning more efficient they must develop self-governed institutions, enabling the society to directly participate in governing the country, thus actually reinforcing the leading role of the party. Participating in the renewal, assuming the role of fighters for the rebirth of democracy, the rebirth of the party should become the ambition of the young people, Jablonski said.

Task Group Six debated over the problems of Poland's economic policy and economic reform under the chairmanship of Jan Gowczyk, editor-in-chief of the ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE weekly.

The discussion opened with a speech by member of the Political Bureau, secretary of the PUWP CC Tadeusz Grabski. He stressed that the party could not (?leave) economy outside the scope of its interest but rejected the party's direct interference in managing the economy. An indispensable condition of the economy's restoration is its comprehensive reform whose realization must become the task of the whole party.

Critical analysis was made during the discussion of government documents submitted to the congress: the report on the state of economy as well as the stabilization programme and directions of reform. Concrete actions which would bring soon an improvement in the effectiveness of management should be taken into account more broadly in these documents, it was said.

The necessity was also emphasized to step up legal regulations connected with the economic reform and in particular the need to urgently pass the bills on state enterprises and its self-management in the Sejm. Further work on the reform should be geared towards the preparation of such documents that have a chance of winning general approval.

Task Group Seven dealt with the development of market production, directions of developing the market.

The speech initiating the discussion in this group pointed out that the restoring of equilibrium is a long-term task. The participants in the discussion agreed that it is the conditions and motivations for increasing agricultural production that must be created in the first place. It was also indicated that only through the elimination of obstacles hampering its developing and with slight governmental help handicrafts are capable of making a significant contribution to improving the market situation, exporting goods worth some million dollars and absorbing surplus labour.

The raising of prices as well as compensation to be paid to the lowest-paid workers were recognized as difficult but urgent problems. No reform, it was said, is possible without anti-inflation measures yet both the price reform and the development of production cannot be carried out successfully unless the economic management system is reformed and model changes are implemented.

Although we must currently concentrate on the country's difficult problems, we must pay close attention to the West's striving for confrontation and its [words indistinct] impose a rapid arms race on us, said member of the PUWP Political Bureau, Deputy Prime Minister Miecyzslaw Jagielski, who was the first speaker in Task Group Eight. The socialist countries oppose this trend with a policy of detente and international cooperation.

It was said that the aim of the policy of Poland, the USSR and the other socialist states is to ensure sovereign existence for our nations, world peace and security. Poland strongly supports the Soviet peaceful initiatives put forth at the 26th CPSU Congress and expressed in the Supreme Soviet's appeal to the parliaments of the world. Poland also comes out for the Madrid meeting adopting a resolution on calling a conference on disarmament and detente.

Other speakers put big stress on the basic importance of Poland's close alliance with the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist bloc. There was also emphasis on the need to increase exports by [words indistinct]. The importance of a clear-cut plan for repaying Poland's debts was pointed out.

The Soviet Union is Poland's natural economic and trade partner, the delegates said. Developing cooperation with the USSR and the other CMEA countries is one of Poland's major economic strategies.

Task Group Nine debated on problems of a rational exploitation of raw materials, energy and fuel resources, and coal as the major wealth of the nation.

As was pointed out at this forum, the failure to ensure sufficient raw materials and components supplies is responsible for the fact that [words indistinct] potential of Polish industry is not fully made use of. A deficit of raw materials, components, fuel and energy constitute at present the major obstacle hampering the overcoming crisis. A modification of thinking is necessary condition for changing this state of (?affairs). Another condition that must be met is the implementation of an energy saving policy. Increasing the production of coal, enlarging the employment in the mines and a rational fuel and energy saving [word indistinct] were recognized as the major issues.

Basic development problems of the coutryside, agriculture and food economy were discussed by the nearly 250-delegate strong Task Group Ten.

In order to bring the country out of the deep general, and in particular food crisis, an adequate and clearly-cut agricultural policy must be worked out, a policy that would guarantee stabilization of all agricultural sectors, this including private family farms that are (?mainly) responsible for the feeding of the nation. According to some delegates, the programme assumptions for the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress do not outline such a policy precisely.

Raw materials and components deliveries to factories and industrial establishments that are already manufacturing production means for agriculture must be secured. Agricultural machinery (?industrial investments) which have been commenced and discontinued must be completed as these investments should not be treated on an equal basis with the other industries. Some other selected industrial establishments must switch over to produce for the (?needs) of agriculture. A genuine and not a slogan-like priority of agriculture and the entire food economy was postulated.

Group Eleven discussed problems of education and national culture. The discussion focused on the role of education and culture in the life of a nation. Attention was drawn to the necessity of broadening the (?network) of kindergartens and care centers for children requiring special care. While defining the educational tasks the school was facing at present, the delegates stressed the necessity of preserving its law character and defending the socialist values propagated by the schools.

The problems of the Polish book industry were the dominating [words indistinct] the discussion on culture. Due to paper shortage and the catastrophic state of the Polish printing industry the production of books is constantly declining.

Task Group Twelve concentrated on science and technology in the service of the nation's economy. The team's debate was inaugurated by alternate member of the Political Bureau, PUWP Central Committee Secretary Professor Roman Ney. Discussed were problems of [words indistinct] share in shaping the scientific and technological policy and the role of party organizations in university milieus and research institutes.

The team strongly criticized distortions in the system of research work in the form of government projects, key projects, etc. The assembly proposed drafting of a report on the state of Polish science.

Group Thirteen dealt with health and environment protection.

In the course of discussion it was asserted that improvement in this domain would become possible if outlays for medical care and medicine supplies were significantly increased, with the investment programme being systematically implemented. The participants found it necessary to elaborate and consistently carry out a minimum but feasible programme of improving the basic health care, care over (?children), the elderly and the handicapped.

Protection of the natural environment and preventing its pollution has now become an issue of major importance. Preventing the impurity of air and water must become the target of not only specialist teams but of the entire economy and society.

Task Group Fourteen was presided over by Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski. Most of the debate centred round the political appraisal of the trade union movement in Poland, especially the Solidarity Union. Opinion varied in this respect, reflecting observations of the various facets of the union's activity. It was pointed out that both the renewal in the PUWP and the [word indistinct] of Solidarity (?came to a large degree) from a common source: the working-class protest against distortions. The conclusion was that both the interests of the workers' party and the union--basically of a working-class nature--must be convergent.

It was said, on the other hand, that the split in Poland's trade union movement provided a chance for the activation of antisocialist forces which managed to win important positions in Solidarity. These forces are trying to change the union into a political party standing in opposition to the PUWP and aiming for power. The delegates' opinions on this matter also varied. Most of them said that the working class will not allow itself to be mastered by forces other than socialist for any longer period of time. However, they said, this means the party will have to be more active than it was and that it will have to support the genuine class trend within Solidarity.

Some speakers demanded that matters concerning cooperation and dialogue between the (?party) and the unions be properly reflected in the congress' final documents.

Task Group Fifteen was dealing with the problems of social policy: the family, social services, and housing problems. Opening the session, alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, first secretary of the PUWP voivodship committee in Gdansk, Tadeusz Fiszbach asked the basic questions: namely, what we now mean by a just social policy, what is the scope of (?the) social needs, and how can it be adjusted to the abilities of the state.

The team considered urgent the need to protect the living standards of all those who are unable to secure themselves rudimentary living conditions through their work. In this connection, the team postulated that guidelines for the prices reform and compensation for it in several variants be promptly published and submitted to authentic consultation. The team urged an acceleration of the reform of family allowances. They demanded balancing social services granted to rural and urban population, and introduction of social pensions for those who have to live on social welfare. Nearly all women delegates demanded introduction of old-age pensions for women following 30 years (?work) irrespective of [word indistinct].

The team described as an issue of supreme importance the elaboration of a feasible programme for housing construction and just criteria for distribution of flats.

Task Group Sixteen was concerned with the party's cadres policy. An introductory report was read by Wladyslaw Kruk, alternate member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, first secretary of the party voivodship committee in Lublin.

Specifying the principles for cadres policy within the party and a new system of the party's work with the managerial cadres in the economy and administration was considered one of the basic tasks facing the 9th congress.

Deviations in the cadres policy are regarded as one of the main sources of the crisis, hence the need to consistently eliminate compromised people and defend those activists who were charged groundlessly.

At the time of the crisis, of special importance is a consistent and social acceptable selection of cadres based on clear criteria [words indistinct] indispensable condition for overcoming the hardships and restoring confidence in the party, its (?policy) and goals. Only such people can guarantee [word indistinct] implementation of the economic reform.

The team stressed the [words indistinct] a democratic cadres policy, [word indistinct] frequent selection of [word indistinct] other parties and non-party (?experts) to managerial posts.

Barcikowski Speech to First Team

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[Speech by Kazimierz Barcikowski, PZPR Politburo member, at the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress during 16 July session of the First Problem Team at the Congress Hall--recorded]

[Text] Well, comrades, my task is to open the deliberations of our team on the authorization of the congress presidium. The reason for this is quite simply that someone had to prepare this earlier. I think you will agree that the achievements of the pre-congress discussion, which was particularly animated as regards the subject of the party and its activities and as regards the draft congress decisions which deal with the party, will form the foundation of our work. I think that our discussion will also reflect the thoughts and formulations of voivodship pre-congress teams and also later discussions in voivodship delegates' teams. I think that the goal we should be aiming for is to define the role and principles of the activity of our party as the leading force in socialist construction in the new socio-political conditions which have been shaping up in Poland after August of last year. We should note at the same time that these are conditions which really are new and for which our party was neither politically or even psychologically prepared.

The jump from the position of the party, which was monopolistic for all intents and purposes, to a situation of acute political struggle was so violent that we cannot really be surprised either by the fact that some of the party members have gotten lost along the way or by the differences in view which have appeared in the party itself and which are still being maintained in the party to this very day. To be honest one would have to be surprised if these phenomena were not present because after all, the year has been very boisterous.

The phenomena with which we are having to deal does not reduce the need, however -- but quite the contrary emphasizes precisely this need -- of the party switching to activity in these new conditions. We are faced with the need of rebuilding the strength and position of our party as a leading party which is battling for its positions, for socialism in Poland, and which is battling more effectively than hitherto. This is very important for our party but, comrades, this is no less important for the country. After all, no one has built or defended socialism without a strong Marxist-Leninist party, without its leadership in this process.

Irrespective of the variety of views expressed during discussions or in various leaflet publications, the truth is that because of the nature of our system and its international ties, it is precisely our party which is the guarantor of socialist renewal. It is conducting this renewal and imparts credibility to it.

There is no doubt in anybodys mind, and it concerns not only us party members, that the loss of the position of our party would bring incalculable threats to the process of renewal, and to the independence of our country. I repeat obvious things only because I am treating them as a starting point for our discussion. These things are obvious, but, comrades they are not platitudes. They mark certain borders, very important ones, certain markers of our situation.

As we know, our party is Polish but at the same time benefits from the international workers and communist movement, and is a member and a participant of the movement. In view of the current problems, which undoubtedly prevail in discussions today and also at our congress, the draft resolution on the centenary of the Polish workers movement has been left in the shadows. We can treat the draft as a gift of the history of our movement. Personally, I think, contrary to appearances, that it is an important document. It is important for the ideological and political molding of the party, because in order to achieve it our party should reach back to its roots, to its origins, to the programmatic and ideological achievements of our predecessors. This is even more important, and more needed, because old bourgeisie ideas are being revived. Often they are rehabilited with much noise and often they are presented as a novelty.

We know, and every sensible man realizes that this is a return to the past, even to Pilsudski and Dmowski, to various ideas which enliven the class society of pre-war Poland, the Sanacja Poland. It is being accompanied by the activation of people and issues overthrown by the revolution. If one looks closer it is not difficult to see in various opposing camps people for whom the matter of a certain social revenge is attractive. Hence, the historical analysis today has a useful value and I would say immediate value. It is thus all the more important that we represent the historical truth that in Poland there was no social leftwing force except the workers movement and the forces which encouraged the movement towards development. Often the workers movement was not a direct link, but it expressed the aspirations of the working people for social emancipation, and to taking up their own social position.

I think that this was the case with the peasant movement. Please note comrades that despite numerous celebrations which we had organized in the past, and in which we often took part, not enough is known in our party about the peasant movement, and we do not talk about it to the community; hence, the topicality of the subject, and the fact it is an essential point in the debate, or I should say resolutions, of our congress.

We have a strong determination to draw all conclusions from our past failures and to recognize the causes of the present political and economic crisis.

No one among us can have any doubt about it. We are acting correctly by beginning our discussion with the party and by drawing lessons from it for our party. In our party, practice teaches that what has been created and that which will be created in future programs, principles and methods of action, that which we are elaborating in the party, that which the party applies at a given moment in its activity, is transferred later to the state authorities and to the authorities of other organizations. We are creating the style for the exercise of authority and of leadership.

One must recognize that this process of socialist renewal is beginning with changes in the party itself. Democratic principles of the party's functioning, and the need to elaborate a true unity in party and activity, are the essence of these changes. This is why a good program carries such weight, (?a program) which the present congress should give to the party. Later, unity in implementing this program will be a condition for the effectiveness of the party's work.

Without this, this immense potential of force accumulated in the party will remain either insufficiently exploited or will be wasted in internal skirmishes, quarrels, and (?fighting).

Which problems, in my opinion, should be at the center of our discussion? In trying to list them, I took into consideration that parallel to us the team dealing with matters of the statute is working. It need not happen but we must know it and remember it. [sentence as heard] I see here the following matters which require a discussion on the basis of the congress documents and the consideration of the comrades.

First, there is the party's streamlining of mechanisms, the elaboration of programmatic premises for the party. The constant streamlining of this programmatic activity of the party is necessary, because the socioeconomic and sociopolitical conditions are changing constantly and the party must be able to follow them. These changes should even be anticipated.

Thus, we all attach such great weight to the elaboration of a party program which would be a program of the working class and the working people--which means that it would be borne from their aspirations, but that it should at the same time be a realistic program based on substantial premises based on real possibilities. I believe, personally, that one of the errors of the past decade was that many more promises were made than could be fulfilled. The disappointment resulting from the impossibility of fulfilling these promises was one of the causes of the catastrophe.

We here in this hall will have occasion to recall the eighth congress, which in my opinion made a very optimistic assessment of the situation; it made promises, when all the people at that time who knew the situation were aware that there was no cover by the factual possibilities of production, to produce the national income.

But note, too, comrades--perhaps this digression is too disconnected and fantastic--that when one listens to our discussions, at times one has the impression that although Gierek is no longer here, Gierek-like [word indistinct] continue to accompany us. What do I mean by this? By this I mean a belief that everything is possible. But that is not the truth. Only that which will be worked out, only that which will be done, is possible. That which will not be worked out lies beyond the bounds of possibility. Thus it would also be a matter of thinking of programmatic matters, respecting one's own party and the people with whom it has to speak. (?One should not depart from) this one indispensible condition: It is not permissible to promise anything without justification. Better to quarrel about what is possible and what is not possible, than to give promises from which nothing will result in due course. Perhaps my excessive pragmatism is showing through, but that is how I see these things. This does not prevent the comrades from having a different approach in this matter.

I also (?wanted) to draw attention to one thing that may become a little lost in our discussion today. We accentuate in our discussions, above all, the role of the party, the role of the party program as a reflection of mood, as a response to what people want. And one cannot deny its rationale. But I personally am a little disturbed by the fact that it is as though we had forgotten that the party is not just a simple reflection of what people are saying, of what people want. The party has a wider responsibility--a party, furthermore, that leads in the construction of a new society. It has a responsibility for the social interest in general, for the interests of the nation in general. And although it slowly appears that these matters constitute a unity, it is a unity in contradiction. The truth is that in the very name of the interests of society or of the nation in general, in many cases one has to demand restraint in (?emergency) matters.

So, let us not forget that in its programmatic work, our party must represent the general social interest, a socialist and a national interest.

The second area of matters which it seems will be the object of interest for us, are the methods by which the adopted party program can be implemented. If this program can exist, then the gaining of the people's support for it--a nondeclarative support, but in essence an engagement of people on behalf of its implementation--will have a tremendous, frankly decisive, significance for its success. So no one should be allowed to slight the organizational activity of the party. It is as if we had forgotten about that a little today too. In this activity, which is to ensure the effectiveness of party action--for slogans do not implement programs, they cannot be realized on the basis of spontaneous action--behind this program must (?stand) what one calls the (?motor) [word indistinct] from above to below. This is essential for it to be possible to achieve progress.

Obviously, we reject here the methods of giving orders. They have inflicted no small damage on us in the past. We throw out what was termed, during a certain period, the institutionalization of the party; that means that it appeared as one more office, though perhaps the highest ranking one. We want to achieve these programmatic aims through the activity of all party comrades, to direct it through party comrades (?seated) in the representative organs, in the socio-economic authorities, in the management of state administration. This is true; it cannot be otherwise. But let us pay attention comrades to the fact that in conditions of developed self-government, and that will come about, [words indistinct] of the party's position will be carried out mainly through election, in which representatives of our party will appear as one set of candidates. The degree to which party activity is made different and becomes better will determine the significance of the personal value of party members, and particularly of party activists, so that they will be able to compete effectively in elections to various links of self-governments and in various links of the authorities. It seems to me that for as long as we are not aware of this, as long as we do not draw practical conclusions from this fact, we will live in uninterrupted fear that someone may take everything away from us. For there is a lot to lose. One should not hide this fact.

Can one not say the following? That today we are plunging into a period and a situation in which an able and developing party activist is needed more by the party than ever before, although theoretically one can say that he was always needed. But the difference today is that the situation will force us to seek people of this type, to assist in their development and exposure, because after all, this is what one must do.

In the light of this, comrades, we must make our stance known on party cadre policy and on matters of what is colloquially known as the "bureaucracy." And again we shall all no doubt agree that there have been many mistakes here, and much exaggeration. But this is a statement which refers, I hope, to the past. But how can one solve problems of bureaucracy to assure our party a guaranteed part in the exercising of leadership functions in the social and economic life in the state? After all, we cannot completely abandon bureaucracy. But we have such proposals from all sides. Political opponents on their part are mounting a downright violent attack on party bureaucracy and cadre bureaucracy. This is also one of the questions facing us today and I shall admit quite openly that I am not at all sure that we all have an answer to them, to how this is supposed to be and how this is to be in fact. Let us try to find an answer.

We also are aware, perhaps more than ever before, of the shortcomings which took place in the development of our party--well, I mean, when we consider what is called party ethics and party morals. We know a lot about the weaknesses in the work of our echelons, in the work of the apparatus. This is well and good, but too little, because after all we have not gathered to reflect on the past. We must find solutions for the future. Questions are emerging. How should we develop the party in the future? How and with what methods should we shape the attitudes of a party member and a party organization in practical activity, through ideological work and also through committing ourselves to solving the numerous problems which will confront us?

Well, there is general conviction today of the need to sharpen the ideological-moral criteria in the whole party, taking into account in particular the demands made of the leadership cadre. We know this already, but after all, we are not beginners in this activity. We are already aware of the weaknesses in human nature. We are settling accounts today with a certain period, but there is no certainty, after all, that harmful phenomena will not be reborn. We know of organizations which have been fighting sin for close to 2,000 years, and this sin is still there, after all. So let us not be idealists thinking that we shall eradicate it straight away at one congress or at a given number of additional party meetings. Thus, we must seek an antidote to the threats which are emerging here. Of course I think that we are all convinced that it is a good thing that the role of the Central Party Control Commission is growing. But is this the end of the matter? Will the starting up of one or another mechanism clear this up for us straight away? What more has to be done?

We are faced with a problem which is not concocted but which is very practical. How is the work of our echelons to be organized to assure action in accordance with the very lofty expectations of party elections? We all hope that after the elections in the party, the echelons will have greater understanding and confidence among party members, and thereby will also have greater opportunity for action. But, of course, such expectations would be misleading unless there are essential changes in the work of our echelons, because people are expecting not only a change in the authorities but are also expecting a change in the style of work and in the methods of this (?work).

We are pondering here various matters. For instance, the following phenomenon was noted in this report-back and election campaign: The mechanism of this very raw democracy has eliminated, for instance, numerous representatives from specialist intellectual and cultural milieu. After all, the party can operate without them. At a time of electoral struggle no one wants to hear about it. But a conference will end and the congress will end, and yet we have to continue to work. It seems to me that we must seek some way to approach those circles which were left outside of our elections or electoral decisions. I think that one way for seeking such an agreement and support can be the setting up of commissions, at departments, or at committee secretaries, of social party commissions set up to deal with the matters of certain areas of life, and certain areas of party activity. We can assemble there many of our outstanding comrades who have not always been too active during elections, but who can be even more active in work. This is one possibility, but perhaps there are others. And then there is the issue of how we are to shape the new functions of party apparatus in the party.

Today, one must say honestly the apparatus has been broken down by criticism, by all kind of accusations, some correct and some excessive. The criticism of the apparatus has been so sharp because in its previous dispositions the apparatus dominated over the activity of the branches. It was more often an apparatus of party implementation than an organizing apparatus. Once I heard a joke about five fingers. The forefinger was us, honest-speaking activists who indicate what has to be done. [not further explained] There was something in the joke, or at least it was human observation. Of course, today all this has exploded on us. But speaking about shortages, about the need for changes, we must not become utopians, because there is no party, no organization which can function and operate without a good apparatus.

The question is how numerous should it be? It should be as numerous as it is indispensable, not a bit more. But I think, it must be, if the party is to function efficiently.

We say the apparatus should fulfill the serving role. It sounds nice, but what if we wish to answer in detail, for example to advise a parish secretary, as to what is the serving role--slogans are slogans but what about practice? Everything has to be prepared. Those are the issues, it seems to me, that we should think about.

There are still two problems that I would like to mention here--I have already talked too long.

First, we are all watching the same phenomenon: that in recent months theoretical needs of the party have increased, in the basic field of Marxist knowledge, as well as in the applied social sciences. We are facing so many questions that one instinctively seeks theoretical and scientific answers. For me, personally, this is something very moving and reminds me of my youth when people really read Lenin and Marx, not always being prepared and not always understanding what was important, but genuinely striving toward understanding. Today, I have observed similar phenomenon in our young comrades, which will be of great value if they persevere because this will assure that Marxism and Leninism for us will not remain just apologetics, phraseology used in declarations, but will enter the ideological bloodstream of our party. We should care whether this happens. We should help this to happen.

We all know that we cannot be delighted or satisfied with our party education. As a mountain of formalism has accumulated, often people gave credit for or canceled training sessions, rather than treating them as a factual need. Well, it is an old adage that one cannot do something without knowledge, especially in a party like ours.

The second part of this matter is our attitude toward research in the sphere of social sciences, and the party's making use of research. I shall not dwell at length on this matter as it may be suitable for a separate consideration. The fact remains that we cannot allow a continuation of this extravagance, resulting from inactivity or even making work more difficult, as has happened in the recent past. When we had a considerable potential of educated people in the sphere of social sciences, we in fact did not give adequate orders so that they would serve the party effectively, serve the cause of socialism. Also all the stoppers, all those earlier constructed barriers must now be dismantled. But to dismantle is not enough, because essentially we all should learn how to utilize their work, how to reach for it.

The last part is about our attitude toward the mass communication media. There is no doubt that we as a party cannot give up--such an idea is inadmissible--our influence on the mass communication media. However, there is also the problem of how the party is to decide these matters in order not to commit or repeat already proven errors so that the mass communication media are turned into an apologetic or praising factor of a given moment or in relation to given people or the viewpoints of given people. They can only become the poorer for this. This is self-evident. When we compel people to repeat the thoughts of a single person, why is a large staff needed? One person would be sufficient to prepare copies. All of us in the party must absorb the fact that we, essentially as a party, as an ideological and political movement, are vitally, I would even say without reservation, interested in true and exhaustive information.

In our (?line) we shall not be able to contact society in the solving of very difficult matters which we are facing. Which matters are these? All of us here are currently talking with rapture about the economic reform, but all in a demanding sense. In all these voices I personally miss most the forebodings of the effects which this reform will have in relation to the living conditions of the people, to peoples' actions. The economic reform is a reform of prices for goods supplied, of retail prices. Well, is it not so?

How do we agree with people if we are not going to supply proper and good information concerning all matters? I had some education as an economist and I have read my share of economic publications on the subject of the reform. I must say that I see them as being trendy. All are enthusiastic reports about the reform, but they avoid all the difficult points. The most obvious problem, and I suggest that this be used in the publications, is the problem of changing retail prices. If this topic is being avoided by the reform supporters, it means that they are seeking an easy way out. As an aside, I believe that information must be such that people will be supplied with the necessary material to learn and judge, to draw conclusions from what is important to them, but also from what is important for the country.

These are the general principles, but how will they look in practice? Again, it is impossible to imagine that we could agree to lively and often even stupid commentaries about hostile propaganda, and so forth.

In conclusion I would like to say that our team's discussion will be recorded. As I said earlier, it should be utilized in the work of the commission of motions and resolutions, and I believe that this will be important and will help us in the party activity not only during but also after the congress. As far as the [word indistinct] is concerned, I would suggest that we shall [word indistinct] along general principles. The secretariat proposes that we work until 1900. After 1900 the comrades will gather for a plenary debate, but will return tomorrow to continue here.

I thank you.

First Team Debate

LD171620 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Correspondent Jerzy Malczyajki report from Congress Hall]

[Excerpts] I am in the best situation among my colleagues, because I can transmit information directly from the discussion of the first problem team of the ninth extraordinary congress directly. The discussion is taking place in the congress room.

Let me first tell you the exact name of the team, somewhat complicated but rendering essential matters: "Ideological and Organizational Unity of the PZPR, the leading role of the Party in the Struggle for Socialist Renewal."

The team meeting began precisely at 1500. The meeting was opened by member of the congress presidium Kazimierz Barcikowski. Barcikowski proposed the election of the chairman and presidium of the team. These procedural matters passed very quickly and the discussion began. The discussion was opened by Kazimierz Barcikowski.

Nearly 40 members have asked to speak in the discussion. It is difficult to say how many will actually speak, because speeches from the rostrum are often interrupted by very interesting remarks, and then become lengthy speeches. So far the following matters have been dealt with: the streamlining of work in the party itself in the elaboration of the party program; the cadre policy [words indistinct], and also the working methods of the party apparatus. It was stated that if the party is to perform its leading role and at the same time the role of the governing party, then it must pursue a central cadre policy. Furthermore, it was also said that in recent months the theoretical needs of the party have increased in the sphere of theory and the requirement for knowledge from social sciences. A central matter was the attitude of the party to the mass communication media. In performing a leading role, the party must have an influence on the mass communication media. Several speakers mentioned the problem of the term of unity which appears in the party during discussions dealing with various orientations. It was a term to which particular attention ought to be given. A speaker referred to the concepts which were at the foundations of the unification in 1948, the merging of the Polish Workers Party and the Polish Socialist Party. He referred to this in order to recall the theoretical achievements of the Polish Socialist Party. [words indistinct] All I have said does not give a complete picture of the team debate, but this is only the beginning, and I believe that I shall give you more details later.

Team Discusses Union Relations

LD161829 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1600 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Report by Editor Tadeusz (Mosk), member of the PZPR Congress problem team discussing 'the party and the trade union movement in Poland', on work of the team so far--live or recorded]

[Text] The team is in session in that wing of the palace, in the Warsaw Hall. It is chaired by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who also opened the discussions. The deputy premier described two new trends of the trade union movement in Poland which arose after August. He recalled that as can be seen in many party documents, the most important thing today is for the differentiated trade union movement to preserve ideological and political unity, and for it to be really representative of the interests of working people.

In the opinion of the deputy premier, the team should attempt to answer the following questions: first, in what ways should party members implement the party program within the trade unions and under the conditions of the existence of various organizational and ideological trends? And second, how should party members act within Solidarity? Thirty delegates elected to speak in the discussion. When I was leaving the conference hall, the fourth delegate was taking the floor.

The following theses were put forward most often: First, it is necessary for trade unions to carry out activities which are in line with their statutes. Second, activities of unions which are outside their statute are often supported by their members because there is a lack of constructive work on the part of the party which would precede the above. Hence, the need for the party to undertake such activities. Third, the party should try to establish equal relations with all the unions without favoring any particular union. And finally, fourth, the principle of partnership with the unions should be taken as the basis, and discrepancies should be dealt with by political means.

This is all for now.

Fiszbach Addresses Team Session

LD161728 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1510 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] [Announcer] Ryszard Kowalski has arrived with recorded statements by delegates. Since you were in the 15th problem team I suppose that the talk concerns social and family policy, social benefits and (?housing)?

[Kowalski] Yes. All these very broad issues, [words indistinct] and Comrade Tadeusz Fiszbach (?spoke) in his opening speech:

[Begin Fiszbach recording] I would now like to formulate several problematic questions which I believe to be fundamental ones, alongside other ones. First, how should one [word indistinct] justice? What does it mean that we want to realize the principle of social justice [word indistinct]? What ought to be the criteria we should follow in its practical implementation? Second, what scope for satisfying social needs can we and must we achieve in the next few years, taking into account on the one hand the conditioning factors resulting from the economic situation in Poland, and on the other hand the necessary minimum social requirements for their satisfaction? Third, what can and ought the [word indistinct] of tasks be, the tasks we take on to resolve in the next few years in the light of social needs, (?at least the most imperative ones) and within the limited possibilities of our economy. I am convinced that if we do not find an answer during the discussion to the questions formulated in this manner we will be in no condition to propose fitting and final propositions in the entire congress. [end recording]

Congress Begins Elections

LD162130 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Excerpts] After 2200 the ninth extraordinary party congress in Warsaw, which is holding a closed session in which only delegates are taking part, began voting in the election of central authorities.

In accordance with a congress decision, the Electoral Commission has issued basic lists citing proposals from 200 candidates for membership of the Central Committee, 70 candidates for deputy membership of the Central Committee, 70 candidates for membership of the Central Auditing Committee, and 90 candidates for membership of the Central Party Control Commission. The commission has also put to the congress proposals from candidates who have been nominated additionally. In accordance with the decision adopted in the election principles at the ninth congress, their number does not exceed 50 percent of the candidates on the basic electoral lists.

Congress Spokesman on Voting

LD162256 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Interview with Wieslaw Bek, PZPR Congress spokesman and editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDA, by unidentified reporter--recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] As we have reported earlier, the debate continued behind closed doors at the Ninth PZPR Congress beginning at 2200. Only delegates were present. During this session, elections to the Central Committee and the Central Auditing and Party Control Commissions were held. We talked to the congress press spokesman, the editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU, Wieslaw Bek, about the voting.

Comrade editor Wieslaw Bek: At 2315 today the first delegates to the ninth extraordinary party congress began to leave the congress hall after voting.

[Bek] Yes. Tonight in secret session, which began at 2200, the voting started. The congress is electing the Central Committee, which means the members and candidates members of that committee, and is electing the Central Auditing Commission and the Central Party Control Commission.

As we said earlier, to be elected is the 200-member Central Committee and 70 candidate members. Also to be elected are 70 members of the Central Auditing Commission and 90 members of the Central Party Control Commission.

The lists of those standing for election contain 279 names for members of the Central Committee, 105 for candidate members of the Central Committee, 104 for members of the Central Auditing Commission, and 135 for the Central Party Control Commission. The elections to the supreme party authorities are based on a number of candidates who were agreed on and determined beforehand--we have already spoken about this.

[Question] Did the Electoral Commission, in agreement with the delegates, make amendments to the electoral lists?

[Answer] The Electoral Commission carried out its work after the morning session, making amendments based on remarks which were made during the long morning discussion.

[Question] Comrade editor, there are quite a number of delegates in the congress hall because the balloting is still continuing--after all there are almost 2,000 delegates. Everyone is casting his vote in turn. When can we expect the result of the elections?

[Answer] The Returns Commission which was also elected today will work through the night. It is difficult to foresee--this is indeed a huge amount of work--when it will be completed. I think that we should find out the results tomorrow.

The discussion in the 16 problem teams will be continued. In the afternoon a meeting of all delegates is expected, as well as a plenary debate. Perhaps later in the afternoon, the discussion in the teams will be continued.

Votes Being Counted

LD162310 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 2210 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The Returns Commission has now begun counting votes. We learn that the results of the election will be announced tomorrow afternoon at the plenary session of the ninth congress. In the morning the delegates will continue their discussion in problem teams. The newly elected Central Committee will then present to the congress the candidacies for the first secretary of the Central Committee. I emphasize: candidacies, in the plural. From the candidacies submitted by the Central Committee the congress will elect the first secretary. We end our report from the studio at the conference hall of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. I shall recall tomorrow's program: in the morning debates in the teams; from 1500 a plenary session, and the expected announcement of the election results.

FOREIGN DELEGATES VISIT FACTORIES, ENTERPRISES

USSR's Grishin at Warsaw Plant

LD161826 Warsaw PAP in English 1525 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--The delegation of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress headed by member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and first secretary of the Moscow Committee Viktor Grishin met today with staff members of the Rawar radio equipment factory in Warsaw. The plant specializes in productio and air traffic control radars. In this area the factory has been cooperating for many years now with appropriate Soviet enterprises. One of the most recent achievements of joint endeavours has been the "Avia-Koren" radar system used for passenger air traffic control. The Soviet delegation is accompanied by deputy head of the PUWP CC Foreign Department Lucuan Piatkowski and secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee Jerzy Boleslawski.

The Soviet delegation was accorded a warm welcome. It had its confirmation in the course of friendly talks with staff members as the delegation visited the individual production divisions, the marine radar assembly division, and the mechanical-climatic laboratory where the equipement's durability is tested. The effects of Soviet-Polish cooperation were in sight everywhere. Soviet-built machines turned out equipment earmarked for export to the Soviet Union. Throughout its history the Rawar factory has depended for its development on own designs and cooperation with the Soviet Union. This is why it operates according to plan and its production is not threatened by shortage of imported components.

Next the visitors had a meeting with the factory's political and economic active. Addressing the Soviet delegation the first secretary of the PUWP Factory Committee Ariusz Dylewski told them about the work of the factory's party organization. He emphasized that the organization intends to continue performing its leading and inspiratory role. "It is our ambition to ensure that the factory's achievements of the past 27 years are not wasted and the plans and tasks we have set us at the end of the 1970's are fulfilled, because this is the condition for the factory's development and solution of the personnel's social problem," said Dylewski.

In his reply, Viktor Grishin expressed gratitude for the warm hospitality accorded the Soviet delegation and thanks for the words of friendship addressed to the party and the Soviet nation. Next the leader of the Soviet delegation spoke at length about matters which now attract the attention of the working people in the Soviet Union. He pointed to his nation's important achievements and discussed plans outlined by the 26th CPSU Congress. Referring to the 9th PUWP Congress, Grishin said that like representatives of other fraternal parties, the Soviet delegation is closely following the course of the discussion.

He said in conclusion: "In this difficult period our Polish comrades can rely on the support and genuine solidarity of the Soviet people." He wished that the Poles can successfully overcome their difficulties and strengthen the socialist Poland.

At the end of the meeting First Secretary of the PUWP Factory Committee A. Dylewski conveyed greetings for the Soviet Union's workers and technicians from the staff of the Rawar factory. He emphasized that the fact that 27 years ago the factory was commissioned thanks to the assistance of the Soviet Union is fresh in the memory of the Rawar personnel.

CSSR's Kapek Tours Enterprise

LD170910 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The delegations of the communist and workers' parties from the socialist countries who are attending the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress today, the day of a closed congress session, visited a number of factories where they met the working people.

The CPCZ delegation, led by Antonin Kapek, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague City Committee, visited the Marcin Kasprzak electrotechnical enterprises. After inspecting the factory the delegation met the management of the enterprise and the representatives of the workers. In an open friendly discussion Comrade Kapek answered questions on the causes and events during the crisis-ridden years of 1968-69 in our country and on how their consequences were overcome. The social and financial conditions of our working people, the position of working women and a number of other issues were also discussed being of interest to the working people of the Marcin Kasprzak enterprise particularly now, in connection with the situation in Poland. Of course, words about friendship and cooperation between our two countries were not lacking either. Comrade Antonin Kapek said, among other things, on this topic:

[Begin Kapek recording] We want and are convinced that the border with Poland should be a border as between socialist countries, that we come here and will continue to come here as to comrades we fully trust. We wish you--excuse my lack of modesty in the comparison--to succeed as we succeeded in Czechoslovakia, to put your economy in order, to be able to work calmly with a feeling of security and so that we can develop our fraternal relations. [end recording]

Bulgaria's Bozhinov at Plant

AU161954 Sofia BTA in English 1850 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (BTA)--The delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party to the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, led by Mr Todor Bozhinov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, met the leaders and workers of the strong-current devices plant of Georgi Dimitrov near Warsaw.

The leader of the BCP delegation expressed the conviction that the difficulties which have arisen before the plant, in connection with the shortage of raw and other materials, will be overcome with the concerted efforts of the economic administration, of the party organization and of the young highly qualified team.

Sharing his impressions with the work of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party, Mr Todor Bozhinov emphasized that at this party forum there are put forward for discussion the paramount problems of the party and the state. I believe, he said, that the congress will find a way out of the current crisis with the efforts of the working class and the entire Polish people. The communists and workers of the socialist countries, including the Bulgarian communists and the Bulgarian people, are prepared to render any assistance to the Polish people to overcome the hardship. Bulgaria is a small country but her people has great international traditions and, in Poland's hard days, is rendering assistance to the fraternal Polish people according to her possibilities.

The problems of Poland as a socialist country, Mr Todor Bozhinov continued, are not and cannot be her problems only but they concern all the Warsaw Treaty countries, the countries of the whole socialist community. The international reaction and the internal antisocialist forces are making use of the temporary difficulties of Poland in order to complicate still further the situation in the country.

Hungarian Delegates at Factory

LD161910 Warsaw PAP in English 1624 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--The old adage "Pole and Hungarian are two brethren" has had its full confirmation in the cordial atmosphere of the reception accorded the Hungarian delegation to the 6th PUWP Congress when it visited the Unitra-Polkolor Warsaw television factory today. The delegation was headed by member of the Political Bureau of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party's Central Committee and the CC Secretary Ferenc Havasi.

The factory's director-general Miroslaw Recha recalled the plant's history. The factory pioneered the development of TV sets production in Poland. Today the factory produces about 10 different types of TV sets beside television equipment. Most recently the Hungarians, with whom Unitra-Polkolor is developing cooperation, have purchased a batch of Polish-built picture tubes for colour TV sets.

Members of the Hungarian delegation saw certain production divisions, watched production of the colour TV sets and television equipment. The visitors also took interest in the working and living conditions of the personnel. They were impressed by the fact that the factory's pregnant women workers and such persons whose physical condition required special care worked in rooms equipped with special facilities.

At a meeting with the factory's staff Ferenc Havasi said: "I wish to thank you for your invitation. You have received us cordially, in a party spirit. I am under the impression that we are among old friends and can talk about problems that interest us. The Hungarians and Poles are linked not only by historical ties but also by the present. We are members of one family of the socialist states, and jointly have been implementing noble aims."

"I believe that the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress, thanks to the resolutions it will adopt, will create a propitious climate for the implementation of these goals. I believe that the congress will elect a leadership under whose direction your party, having overcome the crisis, will embark on the road of development and ensure proper living conditions for the population."

The chairman of the Hungarian delegation also answered a number of questions. They concerned the Hungarian economic reform and work on its deepening, the system of planning and economic management, mutual relationship between work productivity and wage, as well as the relation between the highest and lowest pay. The Poles also wanted to know how the Hungarian society evaluated the developments in Poland.

GDR Group Tours Factory

LD170948 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1513 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (ADN)--The SED delegation headed by Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Werner Felfe which is attending the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, today visited the Rosa Luxemburg electric bulb factory in the Polish capital. During a tour of several departments, Werner Felfe, Konrad Naumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk Executive Committee, and Jochen Hertwig, member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk Executive Committee, held cordial talks with Female workers at the enterprise which maintains close relations with the Narva electric bulb combine in Berlin. The further deepening of cooperation was at the center of the subsequent friendly meeting between the SED delegation and party officials at the enterprise.

Konrad Naumann conveyed fraternal greetings from the workers of the electric bulb combine in the GDR capital. He reported about their initiatives and results in the socialist competition movement following the 10th SED Congress which aim at producing high quality lamp fittings. Director General Ryszard Bydlon and party Secretary Janusz Szymfel reported about the efforts of the party organization to develop production under the present complicated conditions, and to direct the activities of the whole work force to this important task.

The open and comradely talk which lasted several hours was characterized by a spirit of fraternal cooperation and internationalist solidarity of the communists of the GDR and of People's Poland. The Polish hosts accepted with great pleasure an invitation to visit the GDR capital.

Romania's Banc at Enterprise

AU161849 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1822 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--The RCP delegation led by Iosif Banc, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, that attended the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PZPR, visited on Thursday one of the largest garments enterprises of Poland--Cora, with its headquarters in Warsaw.

The delegation was greeted everywhere by applause, an expression of the feelings of warm friendship the Polish people nurtures for the Romanian people. After visiting the productive sections, the delegation met the party active of the enterprise.

Iosif Banc presented at length the multifarious aspects of the RCP and Romanian state's experience in building socialism. Likewise, he pointed to the principles underlying the Romanian foreign policy, highlighting the relations of warm friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Polish parties, countries and peoples. The RCP delegation addressed wishes fresh success to the Cora collective and to all the Polish working people. They also wished them that the resolutions which the Extraordinary Ninth Congress of the PZPR is to adopt be a stimulus in surmounting the current difficulties and in steadily consolidating Poland on the road to socialism.

SFRY'S Grlickov at Factory

LD171040 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1408 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--Dr Aleksandar Grlickov, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and head of the Yugoslav delegation to the Ninth (Extraordinary) PZPR Congress, today visited a factory in Warsaw which produces light planes.

Accompanying Grlickov were the other members of the Yugoslav delegation--Vlado Janzic, executive secretary of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, and Muhidin Begic, SFRY ambassador to Poland.

The factory leaders acquainted Grlickov and the members of the delegation with the process of aircraft construction and test pilots demonstrated various features of these planes.

The members of the Yugoslav delegation then had a long conversation with the factory management in the main office.

SRV Delegation Visits Works

LD161922 Warsaw PAP in English 1620 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--This morning the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam for the 9th PUWP Congress visited the rolling stock repair works at Pruszkow, which in 1970 was named after Ho Chi Minh.

Visiting the production departments of the works, the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam learnt about the history of the works, one of Poland's three works which specialize in repairs of passenger and special railway cars. Apart from repairs, the 2000-strong crew manufacture rolling stock wheels and iron casting. The Vietnamese guests laid flowers at the obelisk commemorating Ho Chi Minh.

The Vietnamese guests met with representatives of the crew. The secretary of the factory PUWP organization acquainted the guests with the course of the election campaign in the works. He spoke about the goals that the factory PUWP committee elected last June set itself.

Head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Vietnam Vo Nguyen Giap said that "criticising the mistakes and deformations, one must not forget about the indisputable attainments of your country over the last thirty-odd years. We Vietnamese communists are deeply convinced that the Polish nation can overcome all the difficulties, that your country will remain a lasting link of the socialist community."

Cuban Delegation Activities

FL161955 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Special correspondent to Warsaw (Loly Estevez) report]

[Text] The Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Delegation, invited to the Ninth Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] special congress, made a visit today to the (Unitraseni) scientific-productive center in this capital. PCC Politburo member Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, Central Committee member Jorge Lezcano, Cuban Ambassador to Poland Raul Fornell and the other members of the delegation went through the installations of that industry whose yearly produce is worth 5 billion zloty. Currently, 11,000 people are working at the (Unitraseni) producing transistors and integral systems for home appliances and industrial equipment. When the plant was set up in 1958, it had only 200 workers. The small enterprise became the origin of the group which now comprises several industrial plants and two scientific institutes which dedicate themselves to industrial production and scientific research. During their visit the Cuban leaders had talks with the managers of the enterprise regarding various questions related to the production process and the life interests and concerns of the workers of the factory.

In the afternoon, the Cuban delegation to the PZPR special congress was invited to see Frederic Chopin's home, now a museum.

Grishin at Friendship Meeting

LD171232 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1200 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] A meeting took place today at the House of Polish-Soviet Friendship in Warsaw Between the CPSU delegation led by Viktor Grishin, Politburo member and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, and activists of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society.

Also taking part were representatives of factories, World War II veterans, young people and employees of Soviet enterprises from the Warsaw area. The meeting became an opportunity for recalling the historic friendship and cooperation of both nations. The representatives of individual professional and social circles in our country sent, through the Soviet delegation, warm wishes for the working people of the land of the Soviets.

In turn, Viktor Grishin conveyed, on behalf of Leonid Brezhnev, words of thanks to the activists for their efforts in strengthening the friendship between both our nations.

BEK DENIES CONGRESS HAS 'GOMULKA LETTER'

NC161506 Paris AFP in English 1427 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (AFP)--A spokesman for the Ninth Polish Communist Party Congress here today denied that delegates had at their disposal a letter containing damaging charges against party chief Stanislaw Kania.

The letter, reportedly written by former party First Secretary Wladislaw Gomulka and circulated Tuesday, charged that Mr Kania shared in responsibility for the bloody repression of 1970 workers' protests in the Baltic ports. Congress sources had said that the charges shook some delegates' confidence in Mr Kania and observers suggested this had sparked a surprise move to postpone a quick vote on his re-election at the opening session Tuesday.

But Wladislaw Bek, the spokesman for the congress, said that while he could not confirm or deny the existence of the letter, "I deny that the delegates have it at their disposal." Several delegates contacted by Western journalists last night said they had knowledge of the so-called "Gomulka letter" and, without judging its contents, said it was a "base maneuver" by Kania opponents. But it was impossible to tell how widely the document had been distributed.

CUBA'S RODRIGUEZ SPEAKS TO NINTH CONGRESS 16 JULY

FL161900 Havana Domestic Television Service in Spanish 1700 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Excerpt from speech to Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress in Warsaw by PCC Central Committee secretary and Politburo member Carlos Rafael Rodriguez--recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade President, esteemed delegates and persons invited to this Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party:

We bring with us the fraternal greetings which the Cuban workers, our communist party and its first secretary, Comrade Fidel Castro, send to you from the first socialist state of the American continent. [applause]

The Ninth PZPR Congress is a highly important event in the life of the Polish nation, but it is much more than that. The decisions which will be made here, the way of facing and resolving the problems that affect the Polish society and its party today, the manner in which the mistakes are corrected--mistakes which have been revealed and criticized in the discussion--have a decisive interest to all the socialist community and to the progressive revolutionary movement of the world.

The enemies of socialism, who undoubtedly are Poland's enemies, because Poland can guarantee its national consolidation and independence only through socialism, are trying to take advantage of the events which have taken place here, in order to discredit the socialist regime, undermine the bases of the socialist society in Poland, separate Poland from its brother countries and change the European and global power balance, thus continuing the international action they have initiated and which signifies a renewed danger to the peace and national independence of the nation.

Within the framework of the tensions which disconcert the world and as a part of them, the problems being faced by the Polish communists are also our own problems. For that reason, the attention of the best forces of mankind are centered today on this room. The traditions of Poland, its working class and people, inspire us with confidence. Within a few days, 37 years will have gone by since the historic moment which the Poles have truly named the rebirth of Poland. Whatever the criticisms made by the Polish people and communists while analyzing the last decades, the obvious efforts and achievements of socialism will be there to see. Therefore, despite the difficulties and contradictions of recent times we have heard this firm assertion: Poland is and will continue to be a socialist country. [applause]

The fine patriotic, revolutionary and internationalist tradition of the Poles and their deep class consciousness confirm that determination. The people who preserved and defended their national identity despite all oppression, who courageously resisted Nazism, have moral and patriotic reserves to solve the complex tasks they must face today.

More on Rodriguez

LD161736 Warsaw PAP in English 1440 GMT 16 Jul 81

["Carlos Rafael Rodriguez Speech (shortened)"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--The 9th PUWP Congress is a historic event in the life of the Polish nation. It is even something more. Decisions which will be taken up here, the manner of posing and resolving problems which are disturbing the Polish society and party today together with the form of amending errors which were defined during the discussion and put to criticism--all this is the subject of lively interest on the part of the member states of the socialist community and the international revolutionary movement and progress.

The antagonists of socialism, at the same time undoubtedly enemies of Poland, since only following the path of socialism is Poland capable to guarantee permanence of national identity and her independence, attempt to exploit the events taking place in Poland in order to discredit the socialist system, to undermine the foundations the society of socialist Poland is based on, to break Poland away from the family of brotherly countries and to change the alignment of forces in Europe and in the world in order to push ahead with their activities which constitute a threat to peace and independence of the nation.

Amidst the tension present in the world today, the problems the Polish communists are now facing are also our problems. For this reason the attention of the most progressive forces of humanity is focused today on this hall. Amidst your difficulties and during your animated discussions a firm affirmation that "Poland is and will continue to be a socialist country" could be heard on numerous occasions. The Poles' magnificent patriotic, revolutionary and internationalistic traditions, their profound class conscience consolidate this affirmation. A nation that despite oppression managed to preserve and defend its national identity, which was able to courageously oppose fascism, has unlimited moral and patriotic resources for resolving the complex tasks that await it.

Imperialism is making use of all available measures to utilize its antirevolutionary and antisocialist reserves, to instigate and support them in order to turn the process of renewal, conceived by the Polish communists as a necessity, into a tool of fighting socialism.

The traditions of the Polish nation and working class allow one to hope that the results of the 9th congress will contribute not only to ensure healthy and patriotic aspirations of the Polish nation and working class but also to reinforce socialism, thus contributing significantly to the consolidation of peace in the world.

We convey to you sincere wishes of the Cuban communists that the Polish United Workers' Party may emerge from this congress stronger and better united, that it be an infallible combat detachment in the determined, creative and consistent application of Marxism-Leninism, actively participating in the joint struggle for socialism, liberation of nations and peace.

Humanity is now experiencing moments of uncertainty and jeopardy. The most aggressive and reactionary forces of the American imperialism are attempting to gain advantage in the world, trying to impose a global policy, based on blackmail and military superiority. They threaten the socialist countries and want to turn back democratic and revolutionary movements which in the recent years have achieved considerable results.

These forces try to impose on Western Europe nuclear arms proliferation plans not caring about the catastrophic results these plans can bring to the European nations. They thoughtlessly claim the right to attain a military edge over the Soviet Union. These forces block the detente process and fuel the arms race, supply weapons to the most bloody and repulsive regimes of our times. Throughout the entire world, these forces favor the development of various forms of fascism, racism, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism. They dream of transplanting their provocations and reactionary maneuvres onto the body of the socialist community.

Ever more evident is the historic role of the Soviet Union as the fundamental guarantee of the invincibility of socialism.

For over 20 years the Cuban nation had to courageously oppose all types of aggression by the North American imperialists. They did not succeed in conquering us. The incumbent U.S. Government with its aggressive arrogance and drive to stir up tensions in all parts of the world has intensified its threats against our country. We want peace and we want to devote all our energies to peace. But we will never yield to an aggression.

The friendship between the nations of Poland and Cuba, goes back to the past century and to the participation of Polish patriot Carlos Rolof Mialowski in our battles for independence. It will continue to develop in the form of fraternal cooperation, in the unity of actions against imperialism, and struggle for social justice, independence of nations and peace.

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON THIRD PZPR CONGRESS DAY

LD170726 Warsaw PAP in English 0630 GMT 17 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--In a commentary on the third day of the congress, in which the candidates to the supreme party authorities were submitted to a public test of questions and doubts, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote:

It would surely be better if this time was devoted to working out a programme, mapping out a path into the difficult future for the party and state. This is true. But it would be difficult to say that this time was wasted or harmfully used.

Going through this session for us and on our behalf was one of the tasks we elected our representatives to the congress for, to let us, the party, close this stage of our own history and become convinced that its permanent closure is in our hands.

The pre-congress elections--starting from the basic party body executives and ending at congress delegates--took place in an atmosphere of special sensitivity with respect to democracy and openness, a certain kind of fear of any departures and dodges. True, unjust personal decisions and over-rapid judgement, lack of necessary tolerance and easily-made, harmful generalizations, as well as many other things which should never occur again were sometimes the side effect of this justified climate. There is room for hope, however, that this stage of our history can also be closed for ever by Wednesday evening's and Thursday morning's congress sessions, TRYBUNA LUDU wrote.

RADIO, TV COVERAGE OF PZPR CONGRESS REPORTED

LD161524 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 81

["The Ninth PZPR Congress on Radio and Television"--PAP headline]

[Text] Never before in the history of Polish television has there been such a great number of reports and accounts connected with the work of a party congress, said Wladyslaw Snarski, director general of Polish Radio and Television, speaking to a PAP journalist.

On the first day of work by the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, live and recorded broadcasts [translyatsii i retranslyatsii] on the television first program totaled 7 hours, 23 minutes, on the second program, 3 and one-half hours. An innovation is the broadcasting every day of a statement before television cameras by Wieslaw Bek, the congress press relations officer.

W. Snarksi said that the quantity of directly transmitted materials is limited only by technical capacity. The recorded [zaregistrirovannyye] materials are mostly broadcast with no cuts whatever. The television reporters' group is trying to increase the quantity of direct broadcasts still further.

Polish radio, in its second program, is relaying almost continuously transmissions and materials on the work of the congress as agency material and its own material comes in. There is a special congress studio for coordination. In the first program, the commentaries and reports devoted to the congress are transmitted as early as the popular morning program "Signals of the Day." A detailed account from the congress hall is given in all the routine information programs of Polish radio. Every day, special information digests ["Bloki"--PAP quotes] are broadcast under the title "Today at the Congress."

PRESS REVIEW ON PZPR CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

LD161054 Warsaw PAP in English 0905 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--In its report from the PUWP Congress TRYBUNA LUDU wrote, among other things, that "elements of a programme for tomorrow and the months to come are to be found in statements of most delegates. Though they often concern selected areas of social and economic life, as the discussion at the congress is developing they start embracing ever new fields of this life."

"What the delegates are saying and suggesting are most often not only their personal views, evaluations or ideas. Many put forth conclusions on behalf of whole party organizations, whole communities."

"Next to the plenary discussions, on Wednesday morning, the congress proceeded with work on the regulations and the procedure. Though this part of the debates, with the participation of delegates only, was devoted to what could be termed 'the technique of democracy', everybody in the hall and outside it was aware of its momentum."

"The matter was not regular procedure, but democratic procedure in the life of the party which, as the general pre-congress debate showed, should and wants to be a model of democratic relations, a party which wants to build internal discipline in action on democracy, a party which on the (?base) wants to demand respect for democracy from all the socio-political forces in the country", TRYBUNA LUDU said.

"The congress stresses strongly the Marxist-Leninist character of the party, its position in the society and the state, criteria of the leading role and method of its exercising of the function of the ruling party, the moral and ideological criteria of membership of the PUWP, the ways of extricating the country from the crisis," today's ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI wrote.

"This arouses optimism. This optimism is visible also in speeches of fraternal party leaders who, referring to our problems in the broader international context, stress their faith that the Polish United Workers Party will work out an offensive programme, it will continue to be a combat unit of the international communist and working class movement, and our country will continue to be a strong link of the socialist community and its unfailing ally."

"This is a congress of great responsiblity. The delegates [word indistinct]. Those great party and social hopes, one could say, demand that the party congress perform a just settling of accounts for the recent years, that it clean the party from growths alien to it, that a clear programme for tomorrow and the more distant future be finally mapped."

"What matters most, however, is that genuine care for the party, a sense of responsiblit, for the future of che socialist country, prevails at the congress," the paper said.

"The organ of the United Peasant Party DZIENNIK LUDOWY wrote that "the accounts-squaring trend weighs on the congress. It gives rise to sharp, passionate criticism, but it also prompts conclusions. This is the constructive, future-oriented trend. Criticism of the past is a source of the party's regenerating force, in accordance with the historic wisdom which says that what matters most is the future and what we can do for the future."

"Many general issues were raised during plenary debates, among them the priority role of agriculture and food economy in the surmounting of t..e crisis and the country's further development. It is for true priority, not in words and declarations, but in the practice of the economic and social policy that the United Peasant Party has been struggling for years."

"This thought is also expressed at the congress. Stanislaw Kania alled agriculture and raw materials industries two buttresses of stabilization of the economy when he said: 'Poland must feed herself'," DZIENNIK LUDOWY wrote.

"All the delegates are aware of this historic reponsibility which rests on them; they realize what the party and the whole society expects from them. The discussion under way at the congress is also a proof of this", TRYBUNA MAZOWIECKA said.

"This discussion converges with the feelings of the society, the feelings of members of basic party organizations. Taking the floor at the congress, most delegates have said that they represent not only their own stance, but also that of their party organizations, which together with the mandates obliged them to present definite problems, stances and conclusions at the congress."

"One thing may be said already now when listening to congress discussion. The party is fully consistent in its support for the implementation of socialist renewal; the party must lead this renewal. There is no other and there can be no other alternative, a participant in the discussion said."

LENIENCY OPPOSED FOR THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR CRISIS

LD170824 Warsaw PAP in English 0130 GMT 17 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (PAP)--ZYCIE WARSZAWY compared the months which the party has been experiencing since August 1980 to a "shock therapy administered under the pressure of the legitimate public criticism. But nothing is easy or simple in this process of convalescence. Since the 6th PUWP CC plenary meeting, the policy of social agreement was taking shape and consolidating in the fierce struggle and by overcoming great difficulties. Also, the PUWP rank and file were coming into prominence and acquiring their own great penetrating force in the equally tough fighting and by overcoming many restraints," the paper said.

"Although one can hardly say that those participants in the congress discussion who say about delays and of the PUWP not fully using the possibilities of the past few months are wrong, the congress does take place, the accounts were squared which not only will satisfy the public sense of justice but will also consolidate the party, and the democratically elected delegates will elect the new PUWP authorities in a democratic way. It can be seen today that the balance between the two parts of the notion of democratic centralism is being clearly redressed, already before the adoption of documents regulating principles of the party's functioning, broadening the rights of its members, basic links and eligible bodies.

"It can clearly be seen that delegates to this extraordinary congress do not feel themselves guests of the party leadership but assignees of the PUWP rank and file members.

"The years of the gap between theory and practice caused the delegates debating at the congress to [words indistinct] of the PUWP's functioning and its performing of the leading to be aware that it would not be enough to develop even an ideal model of the party's functioning but that social support is indispensable for the nation's leading force and its programme. Resolutions on squaring the accounts adopted by the congress are viewed exactly in this context. It would be impossible to strive for the support for the party if it were lenient with the people responsible for bringing the country to the very brink of disaster", ZYCIE WARSZAWY said.

ZYCIE WARSZAWY STRESSES NEED FOR REFORMS

LD161030 Warsaw PAP in English 0832 GMT 16 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--"Two ways of thinking about public matters are revealed in our discussions," Janusz Reiter wrote in ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

"The first consists in a multiplication of details, as if the hope that they will add up to make a full, detailed picture of our situation. The reality is conducive to such a reasoning: The crisis has affected all the spheres of life, and its manifestations can be quoted ad infinitum. We have been doing that for many months, but without the expected result: Nothing new has emerged from the flood of information about crisis phenomena and alarmist reports from all parts of our country."

"The congress was to change this. It can do it on condition it (?induces) a different mode of thinking, in search of what is common to all the manifestations of the crisis, reaching to its deep systematic sources. That will happen when the myth is abolished that transportation, power industry, education and a thousand other spheres can be mended without changing the foundations of our social life."

"After the second day, it would be hard to say that such a mode of thinking has ultimately triumphed. Over-attention to detail, well familiar to everybody who watched the voivodship conferences, is also felt in this congress hall. Time and again the statements reveal some sense of helplessness when trying to answer the question: What to do to overcome the present state."

"This question was posed by Mieczaslaw F. Rakowski. His speech did not contain easy answers, but a thoroughly substantiated thesis that nothing but reforms can save Poland. 'Let us not be afraid any more' is an appeal for courageous, resolved thinking, such as should be the mark of present-day politicians."

"Rakowski finally clarified that which has given rise to so much understanding in the recent months, i.e. why the line of agreement did not put the crisis under control. A somewhat simplified, brief rendering of his reply is: because there is only the method, and no content. The content we need are reforms. It is for reforms that struggle should be waged," ZYCIE WARSZAWY wrote.

PZPR CONGRESS COMMISSION REPORT ON RESPONSIBILITY

LD162010 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1745 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Report on the contents of report by the PZPR congress commission dealing with the personal responsibility of former members of the party leadership for the current situation in Poland--announcer read]

[Text] Point 1 of the report; the aim of the work done by the commission, its functions and membership: Responsibility for the creation of the crisis whose consequences are felt by the entire public has become an important factor governing the restoration of confidence in the party and the people's power. The PZPR Central Committee began, starting with the Central Committee's sixth plenum, to determine the causes and sources of this crisis and also the level of responsibility of people holding leadership posts in the party, government, state and economic administration.

By decision of the sixth plenum, the following members of the former leadership of the party and government were removed from the PZPR Central Committee: Edward Babiuch, Zdzislaw Zandarowski, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Tadeusz Pyka.

At the same time, the PZPR Central Committee accepted the resignation of Zdzislaw Grudzien for health reasons.

The seventh plenum adopted a decision relating to the responsibility of Edward Gierek and Piotr Jaroszewicz. The PZPR Central Committee recalled Edward Gierek from the composition of the Central Committee. At the same time, the Party Central Control Commission was instructed to examine the matter of Piotr Jaroszewicz and to adopt a decision regarding his membership in the party, to examine thoroughly his responsibility and the grounds for the charges concerning the abuse of his position, and to inform the party and public opinion about the results. In addition, the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee asked the Supreme Chamber of Control and the fiscal bodies--in accordance with current law--to examine, from the point of view of where the money came from, all doubtful private construction investment projects carried out in the past 10-year period, including summer houses and one-family houses built outside farms.

The PZPR Central Committee Seventh Plenum instructed the members of the former leadership Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Zozislaw Zandarowski, to resign their deputies' mandates. This was done.

The party control commissions at all levels stepped up their investigations into matters raised by the public in respect of members of the party accused of violating statute-based norms, of acting in a way damaging to the party and the public, and of abusing their position for personal gain.

At the same time, the prosecuting and investigating organs continued their investigation. Having gathered proof of crimes in particular cases, acts of indictment were sent to the courts. However, the range of work, its pace and the seeming lack of information, caused the community--including party members mainly from workers' miliex--to demand acceleration of the control and investigating activities, particularly in relation to members of the former leadership responsible for the crisis. Also, an awareness was growing within the PZPR Central Committee that the process of settling accounts should be completed before the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, in order to concentrate the party's attention on solving the urgent economic, social and political issues.

That is why, on 29 April this year, the tenth plenum of the Central Committee established a Central Committee commission to examine the progress so far and to accelerate the work, setting the date for the completion of its activity for 30 June this year. The chairman of the commission was Tadeusz Grabski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. At its first session and in order to make its functioning more efficient, the commission entrusted the function of deputy chairmen to Zygmunt Wronski and Tadeusz Fiszbach.

The second point of the report; range and methods of the work of the commission: In accordance with the decisions of the PZPR Central Committee Tenth Plenum, the commission included in its range of activity the period from the Central Committee seventh plenum in 1970, and the Central Committee sixth plenum in 1980, and the persons who in that period held leadership posts in the party and in the state.

Apart from that, the commission was briefed on the results of the activities of the party control commissions of all levels and the investigations of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] and the activities of the Prosecutor's Office.

In its activities, the commission used the following material: the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress and the report on the state of the economy, analyses and conclusions of the Central Commission of Party Control [CKKP], NIK and the general prosecutor's office, report on the content of expert findings and reports submitted in 1977-80 by the team of scientific advisers to the former first secretary of the PZPR, resolutions and motions of the organizations and party echelons and individual letters sent to the commission, written statements of members of the former and present leadership, individual talks with Edward Gierek, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Edward Babiuch, Stanislaw Kowalczyk, Jerzy Lukaszewicz, Tadeusz Pyka, Jan Szydlak, Tadeusz Wrzaszczyk and Franciszek Szlachcic at his request, and also with Mieczyslaw Jagielski and Jozef Pinkowski in order to gain additional explanations. Also used was a report by a team of legal experts of the following composition: Professor Kazimierz Puchala from Jagiellonian University, Professor Andrzej Burda from Marie Curie-Sklodowska University, Assistant Professor Leszek Kubicki from the Polish Academy of Sciences [PAN], and Assistant Professor Tadeusz Nowak from Adam Mickiewicz University. The commission's sesions were attended by representatives of the CKKP, NIK and the prosecutor's office. The commission held eight plenary sessions, having one meeting a week, and apart from that it worked in teams.

The commission thought it essential to end its activities by 30 June with regard to all persons against whom accusations have been made. This was possible as far as NIK, CKKP and local commissions were concerned but the activities of the investigating organs--and in particular the prosecutor's office because of the demands of the law and the rule of law and legal procedures--must continue beyond the adopted deadline. On 29 June, the commission was acquainted with NIK's final report, the current report of the general prosecutor's office and the CKKP report prepared for the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

The third point of the report: the causes of the crisis in the light of the documents which have been gathered and of the results of conversations: All persons have stated to the commission that the assessments, contained in the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress and relating to the sources and reasons for the crisis that has occurred in Poland, are formulated correctly and in accordance with the truth. The personnel decisions adopted by the sixth and seventh Central Committee plenums have not been called in question.

The commission has drawn up the following picture of the causes and mechanisms which led to the crisis: first, faults in the decision-making system. One of the important reasons for taking voluntarist decisions and also for the lack of a sense of responsibility for drafting and implementing these decisions was the fact that the powers of the Politburo and the government were not regulated practically, and neither were their mutual dependence and sphere of responsibility, despite the correct thesis, "the party guides and the government governs."

The Politburo did not observe the generally formulated powers of its members. There arose in the Politburo informal [nieformalny] and inspirational [inspirujacy] groups taking the most important decisions. Particularly important was the fact that certain members of the Politburo--up to 1973 Franciszek Szlachcic and later Edward Babiuch--played a dominating role in it, limiting the positions of the remaining members and exerting a fundamental influence on the attitude of the former first secretary. As a result of this and also of the willingness by certain members of the Politburo to strengthen their own positions, Edward Gierek, by giving in to various groups or persons, tolerated their activities, uncritically received flattery, and was considered more and more frequently as a symbol of wisdom and infallibility. He, too, publicly proclaimed the more important slogans and programs, for instance, the construction of a second Poland or the Vistula program.

There began an increasingly obvious process of a specific cult arising around his person. This was promoted by the lack of a statutory definition of the rights and role of the first secretary of the Central Committee. This also had an effect on the shaping of informal systems and uncritical relations among parts of the power apparatus.

The domination of representatives of the government in the Politburo was highly incorrect and fraught with consequences. The government introduced to political decision few matters of fundamental importance for the country--for instance, the state's indebtedness, the payments possibilities and necessary socioeconomic reforms--by absorbing the attention of the Politburo on an excess of detailed subjects. A reduction in the responsibility for decisions took place. The role of the premier in the Politburo was excessively held up for show.

The intricacy of the decision-making system and of responsibility was also brought about by the lack of a constitutional statute, in other words the rights, duties and responsibility of the premier, of the deputy premiers, ministers and of the Government Presidium.

Also, the role of the Sejm was reduced to the minimum, or considerably limited in relation to certain important decisions of final significance, for instance concerning the upheaval in the country or large investments.

Next, among causes which have led to the crisis the commission points to the lack of consistency in the activity of the Politburo and the government, and of control over decisions made. The activity of the Politburo and the government in the seventies, especially during the second half of the decade, was marked by a surfeit of resolutions, decisions and programs adopted without considering their realism. The lack of effective political control over the activity of the government was an essential error. The state and party apparatus was assuming, with growing frequency, a formal attitude to the implementation of decisions. Such a practice influenced most negatively the postures of many activists.

A discrepancy grew between the worsening situation of the country and the picture formed by the so-called propaganda of success. The authorities ceased to react to criticism, and showed unwillingness to receive information about economic difficulties. Even critical premises contained in the opinions of the first secretary's advisory team were not taken into consideration. Such a state of affairs could be maintained, among other things, because the ideological and political life inside the party was directed, and plans for work by party organizations were imposed, from the top. This led to a formalization of internal party life, to a limitation of initiative and in independence of party links. The role of conferences of workers' self-government were limited at industrial works together with other forms of self-government. The constitutional principle of social consultation became formalized and was finally abandoned.

As the next cause which led to the creation of the crisis, the commission names the lack of analyses by the Politburo of main strategic actions and their effects. The Politburo did not make an analysis of strategic importance. It did not present matters which were essential to the country to the Central Committee for decision making. This concerned, among others, an incorrect assessment of the world crisis in the years 1973-74, whose symptoms were taken lightly and deemed to be transitory. This was admitted by, among others, Piotr Jaroszewicz, Jan Szydlak, Mieczyslaw Jagielski, and Tadeusz Pyka. It caused far-reaching political and economic consequences. The lack of reaction to the country's increased indebtedness worsened the state's payment abilities. Funds were not regrouped in time, and no actions were taken to prevent an uncontrolled increase of debts from imports, and especially from the rapidly developing investment front. The economic turn, initiated too late, was implemented inconsistently.

The commission points out further that the Politburo and government did not appreciate the accumulating social, ideological, and political differences. One of the reasons for the crisis was the ignoring of mounting social differnces by the former party and government leadership. The most telling example was the avoidance of assessing the events of June 1976. The party leadership wrongly interpreted the events as a protest with only an economic basis; they did not perceive the sociopolitical aspects. This approach, without links to realism, resulted also from the false thesis about the people's moral and political unity, which in consequence meant that forces hostile to socialism were taken lightly and underestimated. A great role was played in this sphere by the propaganda of success, which is closely linked with the activity of Edward Gierek, Jan Szydlak, and Jerzy Lukaszewicz. It was a method of concealing social differences and the mounting difficulties and errors. In order to disguise socioeconomic failures in the years 1976-80 and the nonimplementation of the program set by the seventh congress, the former leadership used an assessment of the entire decade.

Thus the real state of the country and the party was kept secret, and made it impossible for the eighth congress to make proper evaluations and decisions.

Next, the commission points out the improper attitudes of the former leadership. The improper relations in the Politburo and the government leadership resulted from, among other causes, the domination of opportunistic attitudes. The decisive majority of members of the leadership were directed by falsely understood loyalty to the former first secretary of the Central Committee and the former premier. Many of them, as they admit themselves today, had the choice: either to remain in the leadership of the party or government and consciously diminish the negative effect of the various unconsulted decisions, or to stand up openly against them.

Such relations in the former leadership caused the disappearance of party and personal responsibility among its members and also the treatment of the Politburo and the first secretary as if they were not under the control of the Central Committee--quite the contrary, as if they dominated it. The sense of the principle among some of the activists was weakened and a specific climate of tolerating the abuse of posts held was created. The former leadership failed to react correctly to the stream of party and social criticism before the eighth congress, and at the congress itself which was a chance for the party to change its policy and improve the lively conditions of the community.

And here is point four of the report of the commission; this point contains the conclusions of the commission concerning the responsibility of people who held leading posts in the party and in the state.

Following the resolution of the PZPR Tenth Plenum, the commission presented specific conclusions to the Central Committee for decisions. They are based on these two principles: for activity of a political character, political responsibility is borne; for common crimes, penal responsibility must be borne irrespective of the post held. For the particularly harmful decisions taken by the functionaries holding leadership posts in the state, once the crimes have been proven, the regulations of the penal law must be applied.

The document then presents in detail the conclusions which, let us remind you, are contained in the resolution of the Central Committtee 12th plenum, or have been implemented by the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Congress [as heard].

Here are the conclusions concerning the establishment of institutional guarantees in the PZPR statute, and the regulations governing the functioning of the state. The commission is fully in favor of the proposals contained in the programmatic assumptions for the ninth congress and the draft statute of the PZPR, which aim at creating guarantees to safeguard against the possibility of a recurrence of similar irregularities.

In party activity, it is of utmost importance:

First, to define the role and responsibility of the first secretary of the Central Committee, the Politburo, the Secretariat of the Central Committee, and the principles of subordination of these bodies to the Central Committee. It also concerns the obligatory presentation of the most important strategic problems, intentions and decisions of the Politburo to the debates of the Central Committee, and also the making by the Central Committee of assessments of the sociopolitical situation, particulary at times of threatening conflict.

Second, to define the obligation of Politburo members to declare their attitudes on the most essential problems concerning the entire community and the entire party, at the same time giving them the right to appeal to the Central Committee plenum if necessary.

Third, to introduce, and to observe closely, the principle of control in the implementation of resolutions which have been approved, and to present the results of the control at meetings of elected bodies. Also the control of party apparatus is indispensable.

Fourth, to submit to the Central Committee periodical systematic reports on the activity of the Politburo. Protocols from the Politburo meetings should contain premises for decisions taken, and show views and attitudes adopted in every case by its members.

Fifth, to restore authentic consultation as a method of agreeing on the most important decisions.

Sixth, to define by the ninth extraordinary congress the leading role of the PZPR in the country's socioeconomic function.

In view of the commission, the following questions are of essential importance for the functioning of the government:

First, legal definition of the role and competence of the government of the Polish People's Republic, including that of the premier, the deputy premiers, and ministers.

Second, to introduce the principle that the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic should declare an annual vote of confidence in the government based on an assessment of the implementation of its tasks, and taking into consideration the views and remarks of the Supreme Chamber of Control.

Third, the widening and specification of the principle of responsibility of government and ministers. The responsibility of members of government before th Sejm is expressed in the duty to submit reports by them and the member's resignation from a post at the demand of the Sejm, after the adoption of a resolution on a vote of no confidence. The constitution of the Polish People's Republic in its present text speaks about the responsibility of the council of Ministers as an entity, omitting the question of individual responsibility of government members.

The commission, appointed at the PZPR Central Committee Tenth Plenum to assess the past course and the acceleration of work concerning the question of personal responsibility of PZPR members holding leading positions, proposes that the Central Committee or the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress should initiate the introduction into the constitution by the Sejm, on the example of other socialist states, the vote of no confidence for individual members of government. This kind of Sejm competence vote will considerably strengthen its authority and will ensure the subordination of the government which directs the whole state administration.

MOCZAR ATTACKS PREVIOUS LEADERSHIP, 10 JULY PLENUM

PM161215 Warsaw TRYBUN LUDU in Polish 11-12 Jul 81 pp 3-4

[Apparent text of speech by Mieczyslaw Moczar, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at 10 July session of PZPR Central Committee Plenum]

[Text] I would like to comment on Comrade Grabowski's speech, both as a political activist and as chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK].

I was appointed, at my own request, to the post of NIK chairman 10 years ago. Therefore, it is high time for me to be transferred to some other public work. I have done enough tiring work at NIK. I feel sure that another comrade will still find a lot to do there.

When I was appointed 10 years ago, I realized that that institution with its long traditions could play--in conjunction with the party leadership and the Sejm--a useful role in putting the national economy right and making the administration more efficient. As early as 27 October 1971, that is, prior to the sixth party congress, the NIK council adopted a resolution which determined NIK's duties toward the Sejm, national councils and party and social organizations. It was a question of adopting NIK's activities to both the current and long-term needs of the party with a view to synchronizing these activities with political control and broadly understood social control. (I have mainly in mind here the national councils, in which I worked from 1948 through 1956.) In the years 1972-1976, that is, during the sixth term of office of the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic, information concerning important problems and reports submitted by NIK were utilized on a large scale by Sejm commissions.

During that period, NIK representatives, as a rule, acted as joint reporters with respect to all questions examined by Sejm commissions, their role being second only to that of the minister reporting on the matter.

This is why many commissions demanded at that time that NIK's functions in connection with the Sejm and its organs be extended. Unfortunately, soon after the sixth congress as held, trends to limit NIK's monitoring functions became apparent among a faction of the party leadership then in power. These trends were completely inconsistent with the resolutions adopted by the sixth congress, which recommended that the Sejm's activities be developed and its authority strengthened. These trends prevailed and, at the beginning of 1976, efforts to place NIK under the prime minister's supervision finally succeeded.

Only on 8 October 1980 was NIK again placed under the Sejm's supervision. I would like to emphasize, just to remind you of the fact, that this was the second time that supervision over NIK was entrusted to the Sejm, which had first been entrusted with this task in 1957.

As chairman of this institution for the past 10 years, I want to emphasize that throughout that period we have striven to serve effectively the party and the public by objectively analyzing the current economic situation and by submitting to the leadership relevant information in which we also mentioned the causes of the emergence of evil and demanded from ministers that it be eliminated (however, this is a different subject).

In 1971 NIK issued its first bulletin on current results of monitoring exclusively for Politburo members, the Central Committee Secretariat and the Government Presidium. However, some time later, I was told (I am repeating this statement word for word) that this kind of information should not be circulated among such a wide range of recipients since NIK painted everything in excessively dark colors. It would suffice for three or four persons among the leadership with a direct interest in these findings to be informed of monitoring results instead of such a wide circle of people. This is how the leadership ceased receiving information or rather requested that no information on the results of NIK monitoring be forwarded. To make clear what these bulletins dealt with, let me give you a few examples:

In our 3 March 1972 bulletin we stated that monitoring of the way in which important industrial projects were commissioned had established that in 8 of the 11 projects implemented investments increased from Z1.6 billion to Z4 billion.

In our 12 April 1972 bulletin, we stated that supplies of spares for imported tractors and machinery in the agricultural sector were inadequate and that, as a result on average 15-20 percent of tractors and accompanying machinery used in agriculture could not be utilized. As we know, as a result of a shortage of spares, the situation with respect to the utilization of tractors has now become much worse even though most of these tractors have been produced in the country.

It should be emphasized that in the late seventies the amount of agricultural machinery and equipment increased but we were unable to fully utilize it. This applied, for instance, to machinery used for harvesting indian corn for seed, entire installations used in the production of vegetables and many more.

In our bulletin of 18 October 1972 we stated that during an 8-month period only 47.1 percent of investment projects concerning the health service had been implemented even though the cost of construction and assembly work had increased 30 percent.

And, as I have already mentioned, this kind of information has ascribed to pessimism. As we know, these difficulties have since reached enormous proportions.

In the second half of the seventies investment cycles continually lengthened, costs increased and the gap between planned and actual results widened.

For instance:

In the 1976-1980 period it was planned to provide nearly 27,000 additional beds in general hospitals but in fact only 15,000 such beds, that is, 55.8 of the planned number, were provided.

Of 14 industrial projects commissioned during the past 5-year period monitored by us, 11 had failed to achieve the productivity planned and the value of the goods which they failed to produce by the end of 1980 amounted to more than Z11 billion.

Similar phenomena occurred in the spheres of housing and transportation and many other sectors of the economy.

The Central Committee Sejm Affairs Bureau has given our institution friendly assistance and advice with respect to our presentation of monitoring results throughout the past decade and, especially, in 1976-1980, which were difficult years for NIK. Comrade Zenov Wroblenski, the bureau's director, sought to ensure that the materials prepared by NIK were utilized to the best advantage irrespective of whether or not they were to anyone's liking. Among other things, as a result of those comrades' efforts, information on the results of NIK monitoring during the January 1976-December 1980 period was included in every Central Committee Secretariat bulletin. During this difficult--in fact, most difficult--period for NIK, a total of 142 topical information items concerning some shocking occurrences uncovered by NIK were published in the Central Committee Secretariat bulletin. I have no reason to doubt that these bulletins were read by both Central Committee members and voivodship committee secretaries.

In addition to information published in bulletins, members of the Politburo, Central Committee Secretariat and Government Presidium regularly received special information on any significant results of NIK monitoring. Many people present can confirm these facts. We concealed no facts disclosed as a result of our monitoring. Competent people belonging to the party and government leaderships were informed about all these matters. But this information was also received with suspicion and we were instructed to first submit it to the premier who was to decide whether it could be conveyed to the Sejm.

A total of 365 such reports concerning various problems were submitted to the Politburo in 1972-1980 and all the matters mentioned in them were undoubtedly of fundamental importance for the functioning of the country's and state's economy.

In the period between 1976 abd 15 February 1980 154 reports and special papers were submitted direct to Piotr Jaroszewicz, chairman of the Council of Ministers. They stressed the need to make decisions aimed at elminating the shortcomings and irregularities which had been revealed in various economic and social spheres.

I would like also to mention the fact that whenever confronted with complex matters we asked scientists and experts for help. Among other people, we repeatedly contacted Comrade Ney, rector of the academy of mining and metallurgy, to ask him for his opinion on our raw material policy. The attitude of geologists toward our raw material policy--especially with respect to coal, which is an asset belonging to consecutive generations, and a huge proportion of which remains underground--was critical.

In the years 1972-1980 a total of 131 reports on questions requiring special concern on the part of the party leadership were submitted to Central Committee Secretary Edward Babiuch, who was exercising control over NIK activities on behalf of the Central Committee.

I am presenting these facts to you, comrades, so that neither Comrade Edward Gierek nor anyone else is able to make the excuse that he was unaware of certain matters or was not informed by NIK about its findings.

I would also like to emphasize a very important point, namely that throughout the whole decade no one has ever cast any doubt on the accuracy of NIK's main findings. We repeatedly considered many problems of great importance to the state. These were so-called check-up inspections.

A case in point was the question of falsifying reports. Unconscientious reports and statistical information in all sectors of the national economy were revealed by NIK as early as the first half of the seventies and all the more serious cases were reported by it to the state and party leadership. In view of a worsening trend in that sphere, in 1978 we carried out a comprehensive investigation into the reliability and correctness of the way in which statistical reports were prepared in 323 units belonging to 13 departments, which revealed that in more than 72 percent of the units checked reports were prepared in an unreliable and incorrect manner.

Unreliable presentation of production, investment, agricultural and transport results and results in the spheres of employment and wages created the possibility of obtaining undeserved bonuses and awards and led to the falsification of fundamental premises in planning and decision-making processes. A side-effect of this practice was the concealment of incorrect management.

For instance, as a result of the fact that the submission of unreliable reports was tolerated, an organized system of falsifying reports was set up at the Jelcza automobile plant in which employees in managerial positions were personally involved. In 1976 478 automobiles worth Z333 million were included in the number of vehicles allegedly produced in accordance with the production plan even though this figure was inconsistent with the facts.

The amount of undeservedly paid awards and bonuses can be illustrated by the fact that in 1978 a total of Z351.6 million was paid throughout the country in bonuses and awards for economical and rational utilization of fuel and energy. However, according to NIK findings, the savings claimed in those unreliable reports were largely bogus. As certain comrades know, there existed two or even three levels of access to information about the real state of our economy, including that of our indebtedness.

The results of our monitoring--let me emphasize this again--were regularly submitted to the political and state leadership. So if anyone from the leadership at that time now claims that he was unaware of NIK findings, he was unaware of them only because he did not want to know about them since they did not fit it with the officially prevailing success propaganda. In any case, I was warned dozens of times that this kind of NIK report if widely circulated among party members would not help matters. Both in 1976 and 1980 it was suggested that I should resign but I will not mention this now.

At the sixth plenum the Central Committee asked NIK to investigate together with finance control bodies all dubious private investments made in the seventies.

As we have already repeatedly reported, an enormous amount of work has been done in the past 9 months. As a result of a total of 24,000 letters and reports received by NIK some 10,000 people have been accused of various offenses.

Now that we have already dealt with this problem, I would like to emphasize that in the initial phase of this campaign I did not realize that we would disagree with such a large section of senior and, in the past, often deserving party comrades in our appraisal of what a communist is and is not allowed to do.

Differences of political opinion, differing assessments of the situation in the country and also different views as to the methods which should be applied to extricate the country from the crisis are understandable and, I would even say, logical and various views will long continue to prevail in these spheres. I have no doubt about this.

However, there were and are matters on which there should be no differences of opinion among communists. I include among these fidelity to ideological principles and an uncompromising attitude toward any evil and demoralization. In these matters the party as a whole and not only its Central Committee should adopt an unambiguous and determined stance.

I believe that this is an essential prerequisite whose fulfillment will ensure for the party a credible and leading place in this great and stormy process of moral and political renewal in our country.

Revolutionary parties, which have always led the working class, including our Polish Workers' Party and, later, the PZPR, had to overcome many obstacles and difficulties in their progress. I would even use the word "crises" without hesitation. However, what the party is experiencing now is unparalleled in the history of either our party or its revolutionary predecessors.

Obviously I feel sure that we will also overcome this problem provided we firmly state that the phenomenon of distortion in the broad meaning of the word must have well defined limits. We must cut our losses. And this is why we must tell those who have violated the rules which bind us communists that they have harmed not only themselves--this would not be quite so bad--but first of all the party.

I have repeatedly expressed my views on these matters and if I again speak on the subject today it is because, among other things, Comrade Tadeusz Grabski has submitted the results of the work of the commission which he has chaired and in whose work NIK has also participated.

Therefore, I feel duty bound to express my views on the subject not only as NIK chairman but also and mainly as a party activist of long standing.

If the former Central Committee first secretary acted immorally, he by the same token provided an example to weak people who followed suit. In such a situation demoralization easily penetrated various bodies of the economic administration.

Obviously, violations of legal rules and principles of social justice varied as far as their scale and nature were concerned. Consequently, as I have already repeatedly stated, our assessments of these cases also varied.

Many cases were found to be criminal acts, in connection with which we submitted appropriate proposals to the Prosecutor's Office (T. Wrzaszczyk, F. Kaim, Galzur, Lejczak, Szotek, Borkowski and so forth).

People were upset--quite rightly--when numbers, not names, were mentioned. Many comrades rightly complained. There can be no common denominator.

Comrades have been asking for information. They will be able to obtain it since all investigations have been carried out jointly with the Party Control Commission. I am now able to state that the actions of people who have violated the law will in the final analysis be assessed by the judicial organs in accordance with the principles of legality.

There have also been matters stemming from nonobservance of the principles of social justice--alleged rights and positions were used to obtain out of turn for the people concerned and those close to them an excessive number of apartments and country residences and moreover without paying an amount of money corresponding to the actual value of the properties concerned. In all cases if this sort, NIK proposed that appropriate conclusions be drawn with respect to members of our party and their political parties.

Furthermore, enterprises were instructed to recover any amount of money due and the main organs of state administration were informed of any case which called for disciplinary sanctions.

It should be emphasized that in many cases both state bodies and enterprises not only failed to see to it that regulations were observed but evaded them themselves. For instance, they granted privileges due to farmers to people in no way connected with farming or quoted considerably reduced prices and rates and, as a result, have placed the people now accused in a difficult situation.

I believe that the comrades will treat the Party Central Control Commission's recommendations as binding and that, guided by these instructions, they will be able to settle their affairs in a manner which will not arouse social protest.

I would like to draw the comrades' attention to yet another aspect of the activities of the institution of which I am chairman. In the past 9 months NIK has cleared 3,727 people of accusations made against them, including 3,650 members of our party among whom there are many well-known and valued figures in public, political and economic life. This applies in particular to many thousands of honest, selfless and committed party members who in their own circles have groundlessly been suspected of abuses. This could be done only by NIK.

In such cases, we firmly defended the people involved using means at our disposal, that is, organizing meetings and conferences once our investigations were concluded. We have helped to restore to them their good name, to which they were entitled, in their own circles.

I believe, however, that their own organizations should take up more decisively the defense of these comrades.

Nor can I pass over in silence the fact that there have been cases where we have acted as initiators or ourselves submitted proposals to the Prosecutor's Office for starting criminal proceedings for deliberate slander.

The law should be the same for all; that is, it should punish also those who deliberately and for base motives slander and defame innocent people.

At this point, I would like to appeal to newspapermen and people working at other centers which help to form public opinion very carefully to check facts which they intend to publish and to try to express accurately information given to them by NIK. In this sphere it is very easy to do irreparable harm to an honest person. It is also a question of loyalty toward our institution. I now want to clear up the matter concerning Comrade Karkoszka, who has been rightly incensed by the content of articles concerning him personally which have appeared in the press. I personally have checked the matter and I declare that NIK has passed on no information which could have given grounds for the kind of statements published in the press.

In view of the fact that during the past 9 months party members, in particular those in high positions, have been attacked especially furiously, we have primarily concerned ourselves with these matters.

Excessive enrichment of some sections of the population within the framework of the nonsocialiszed economy belongs to a separate group of problems. In this sphere there exist--against a background of the weakness of our taxation and, more generally, financial system--very serious social problems, manifestations of demoralization, corruption, evasion of regulations in force and so forth. These matters are being investigated by financial control bodies and will be assessed at the end of the year but they nonetheless call for immediate intervention.

In evaluating the past decade we have reached the conclusion that one of the main sources of the crisis between the community and the authorities was above all the fact that the executive apparatus--both party and state--managed effectively to free itself from the effective control of the party rank and file, the working class and the community as a whole. The Leninist saying "trust but check" disappeared from the horizon.

I would also like to emphasize that the distortions and demoralization which appeared at various levels of the state authorities and administration were made possible not only because mistaken economic decisions were made, incompetence was protected and a harmful cadre policy was pursued at virtually all levels of party and state authority, but also and mainly because people in a central position created a very harmful system which made it possible effectively to evade public control and which created large-scale possibilities for voluntarism and disregard not only for laws governing social development but also for basic economic laws. This is why a large proportion of decisions made ran counter to common sense and one decision nullified another with no answer to the question: Why was such a decision made?

As I have already asked in passing, how many economic activists and party members knowingly and deliberately prepared false reports instead of admitting that the relevant plan had not been implemented? And yet truth, be it ever so bitter, has always been the source of the communist movement's strength, the knot which has tied the party to the working class and the entire community.

During the occupation a lie was tantamount to betrayal. Today only party members' honesty and truthfulness can ensure the whole community's support for our ideas.

LAMENTOWICZ INTERVIEWED ON 'HORIZONTAL STRUCTURES'

PM160955 Madrid EL PAIS in Spanish 12 Jul 81 p 4

[Jose Comas interview in Warsaw with horizontal structures movement spokesman Wojciech Lamentowicz: "Horizontal Structures Grassroots Movement Attempts Thorough Renewal of Polish Communism"--date not given]

[Text] Bonn--Over the last few months there has formed within the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR] a broad grassroots movement under the watchword horizontal structures, which is attempting a thorough renewal of the party, especially in its organization and program. The hardliners in the PZPR (whose special congress begins 14 July) regard this group as the embodiment of splitism and a violation of the principle of "democratic centralism."

Another important section of the PZPR believes, on the contrary, that the horizontal structures represent the possibility of a real "odnowa" (renewal) and of recovering "the party's leading role within society."

EL PAIS spoke in Warsaw with Wojciech Lamentowicz, a professor of political science and the brains of the controversial movement. His activity has caused him to lose his post at the Central Committee school for cadres and to become a target for many attacks.

The horizontal structures have three organizational forms: consultative committees, which comprise grassroots organizations in the big enterprises and educational institutions; discussion forums, which attempt to mold public opinion for putting demands to the party's vertical bodies; and clubs, which comprise individual members.

Long-Term Aims

Lamentowicz explained that in order to join the horizontal structures, "No formal declaration of membership is required.

It is a matter of combining the efforts of the most active and encouraging participation. There are about 30 structures, not counting the clubs, and between 25 percent and 30 percent of party members take part, but there is a large number of members who have the same ideas, although they do not take part actively." The horizontal structures have five long-term aims, because they are not seeking an immediate impact.

1 -- To mobilize party members beyond the local milieu. "This is very important with respect to future free elections, because it is the way to train members," Lamentowicz said.
2 -- To monitor the decisions and functioning of the party's hierarchical structure in the form of criticism of the executive bodies, including the Politburo.
3 -- Preparation of programs and dissemination of the new ideas throughout the country. Lamentowicz regards this aim as crucial.
4 -- Mediation among the various interests within the party. "Horizontal understanding can help create the premises for an agreement among the various interests. It is a matter of creating a platform for public debate where there are no pressures to achieve unanimity."
5 -- The introduction into the economy of two horizontal mechanisms: the free market and self-management.

The professor does not believe that "democratic centralism" will be destroyed by these mechanisms and aims, because "it is a matter of the central apparatus being democratically organized and being accountable to the party organizations, so that it must aim at having grassroots support."

Struggle for New Party

Lamentowicz believes that the PZPR has not yet lost its last chance. With respect to the party congress, the horizontal structures are not concer ing themselves with personal conflicts. "It is not a faction, contrary to the accusations which are leveled. We attach more importance to permanent changes and the program.

In Lamentowicz' opinion, the current task is "to create a new program and a new structure in order to prevent certain individuals attaining power in the party. Those people jeopardize the party, as has already been seen. Our aspiration is not to dominate the Politburo or the Central Committee. We are not struggling for power but for a new party."

Asked by EL PAIS whether it is now a matter of securing a Marxist party or rather a national front to extricate the country from the crisis, Lamentowicz replied that this is currently a false issue, "because the party must have an identity of its own and an ability to win popular support. At present the party has neither identity nor popular support."

In the professor's opinion, the PZPR will have to define its stance and gain an identity of its own. "I would prefer it to be a democratic and socialist identity. The aspiration would be to achieve three fundamental values: the tradition of freedom which exists in Polish culture, the democratic and self-managing traditions and the conception of social justice and equality of opportunity."

In Lamentowicz' opinion, "If we wish to achieve a coalition around these three aims, the prospects are good. If platforms such as the Katowice forum (a grouping of hardliners) are adopted, the party is doomed to isolate itself from society, and the system's functioning will have to be based on external domination." Lamentowicz believes that in the party "there are many who believe as I do, and we must not waste this last chance. If the congress wastes it, many idealistic people will leave the party and surrender to sad passivity. The party would be greatly weakened, and, of course, could not become a leading force in society in the near future."

In the opinion of the horizontal structures theoretician, there are people who want to provoke an exacerbation of the conflicts, and he cited again the Katowice Forum and the television campaigns about the public order situation and crime in the country. Lamentowicz regards Politburo member Stefan Olszowski as an exponent of these trends. "But he is not alone. If it were he alone, it would not be important. There are many people in the power structures who share those opinions."

DOCKER STRIKE TALKS REPORTEDLY BREAK DOWN

NC161817 Paris AFP in English 1758 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (AFP)--Negotiations between the Polish Government and dockers at key Baltic ports broke off early today with no agreement in the dispute over working conditions and pay, union sources reported.

The sources in the Gdansk local of the independent labor federation Solidarity said there was still disagreement over bonuses for seniority and pre-retirement and over sick days for veteran dockers. The delegation from the Polish Maritime Bureau negotiating with the dockers in the Baltic town of Gdynia returned to Warsaw soon after the talks broke down to review the situation, the sources said.

The dockers' coordinating committee, meanwhile, met today at Gdynia to plan its next actions. It was expected to make public its decision later in the day after consulting with the workers.

Some 40,000 dockers in Gdynia, Gdansk, Kolobrzeg and Szczecin staged a one-hour warning strike last week to press the bureau to sanction a charter drawn up on May 5.

The bureau, recently downgraded from a ministry, rejected the charter on the grounds that it went further than similar agreements signed with the mines or the steelworkers.

Dockers' Demands Listed

LD170710 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] We reported in our bulletins about the suspension of talks between dockworkers and government representatives on the dockworkers' charter.

The Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs published a special communique in the press on the subject. The talks were interrupted because no agreement was reached on the following demands by dockworkers:

Additional leave of 26 work days automatically granted after 15 years of work and then every 5 years;

Supplements for training amounting to up to 25 percent to be paid to all workers and employees, including administration and office personnel; as well as a 100 percent increase in the training supplement for workers dealing directly with goods handling.

Further demands concern the introduction of a docker's day free from work to be fully remunerated; next, free transport by the state railways for holidays; and jubilee awards of 100-400 percent of wages.

Although the views of the two sides--the government and the dockworkers--were convergent, no agreement was reached so far on the aforementioned points.

Strike Set for 23 July

LD170824 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0800 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Unidentified correspondent's report from Gdansk]

[Text] Because of lack of agreement on several fundamental points, talks between the government commission and the dockworkers have been suspended. We have just found out that the dockworkers have decided to strike on 23 July.

Labor Ministry Communique

LD171246 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1005 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Excerpts] A communique of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs, published in today's press, notes that talks have been held between a government commission and representatives of the National Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity port employees.

Although most of the questions were agreed, the talks failed to reach overall agreement, and were broken off by the union side.

Unfortunately, after the conclusion of yesterday's debates, the National Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity port employees passed a decision to begin a strike in Polish ports and port branch enterprises from 23 July, beginning from the second shift.

The strike will last until the government makes a decision concerning the endorsement of the dockworkers' charter.

More on Strike Plans

NC171142 Paris AFP in English 1132 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Jul (AFP)--Union leaders of 40,000 dockers at key Baltic ports have called an indefinite strike for next Thursday to press their demands for higher pay and better working conditions, union sources in Gdansk said today.

The National Coordinating Committee of the dockworker members of the Polish independent union Solidarity announced the planned walkout a day after talks with the Polish Maritime Bureau in Gdynia broke down.

The committee met last night at Gdynia to adopt a motion stipulating that the strike will be unlimited and begin early Thursday in that city as well as the ports of Gdansk, Szczecin and Kolobrzeg.

The union sources in Gdansk said the strike would involve the same 40,000 dockers who staged a one-hour warning strike on July 8.

Sources in the Gdansk local of Solidarity said there was still differences between the authorities and union over bonuses for seniority and pre-retirement and over sick days for veteran dockers.

The delegation from the Polish Maritime Bureau negoitating with the dockers in the Baltic town of Gdynia returned to Warsaw yesterday soon after the talks broke down to review the situation, the sources said.

The dockers are demanding the Maritime Bureau sanction a charter drawn up on May 5. The bureau, recently downgraded from a ministry, rejected the charter on the grounds that it went further than similar agreements signed with the miners and steelworkers.

SOLIDARITY URGES SUPPORT FOR PROPOSED LOT STRIKE

LD1707409 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] In today's TRYBUNA LUDU there is an article on the Solidarity leaflet campaign urging broad support for the strike planned for 24 July. Here we quote:

"It is a lie to say, as in the LOT Solidarity leaflet, that the work of the administration constitutes an action in defence of their own jobs. It appears that this is more likely a battle for jobs. The new airline director was appointed in conformity with the binding regulations and this issue cannot be debated.

"That is why the recent leaflet campaign, which urges broad support for the planned LOT strike must be regarded as an activity contrary to the statutory rights of the trade union Solidarity, an action of a political nature, which is not conducive to agreement, by Solidarity in LOT, should meet with firm protest by all those who declare their allegiance to the patriotic front of forces of responsibility and prudence.

MAIN STATISTICAL OFFICE SHOWS PRODUCTION DECLINE

LD171008 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 17 Jul 81

[Text] The Main Statistical Office gives information about the further aggravation of the country's economic situation, as evidenced by the figures for June this year.

In the socialized industry, the value of sold production, compared to June last year was more than Z48 billion lower, that is, 16.9 percent.

As in previous (?instances), the drop in production was caused mainly by supply coordination difficulties connected with the lack of raw and other materials, both domestic and imported. The second fundamental cause lies in power difficulties due to the lack of fuels, the bad technical condition of the power stations and with the protracted repairs.

The exploitation of work time is also deteriorating. According to data for 5 months of this year, the proportion of time not worked has increased in comparison with January-May last year by 6.5 percent.

STATE RAILWAYS BRING IN SOVIET GOODS, MATERIALS

LD161254 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1130 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Work at the Polish State Railways at Malaszewicze Biala Podlaska Voivodship is in full swing. Today, goods imported from the Soviet Union are being handled, including 5,500 tons of iron ore, 3,500 tons of mineral fertilizers and 4,000 tons of diesel oil.

GDANSK VOIVODSHIP REPORTS GOODS SHORTAGES

LD161340 Warsaw PAP Maritime Press Service in Polish 1200 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The executive of the Gdansk Voivodship Committee has carried out an evaluation of the sociopolitical situation in the voivodship. It was stated in the first half of the current year, in the Gdansk Voivodship, there was a 26 billion shortage of goods for meeting the purchasing power of the population. Supplies of these goods to the Gdansk market were 15 percent lower than in the corresponding period of last year. There was 20 percent less meat and 55 percent less yellow cheese.

JOURNAL VIEWS NEW LAW ON CONTROL OF PUBLICATIONS

LD161800 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0900 GMT 16 Jul 81

["An Important Instrument of Socialist Democracy"--PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--In an article under the headline, Zygmunt Surowiec, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice, discusses the significance of the law on the control of publications and public performances.

The law on the control of publications and public performances, which has been awaited by the people and passed and which has been passed to the Sejm for approval by the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and the Commission for Legislative Work will be a very important instrument in the formation of processes defined by the concept of socialist renewal, and should well serve the development of socialist democracy.

The law will create the best conditions for the development of culture and of objective information as important levers in strengthening the socialist state, and in the simultaneous forming of social relations which are characteristic of socialism.

The law provides for the control of foreign publications according to the same criteria as those for Polish publications. Therefore, all that is valuable for science and culture, everything that contains true cognitive values and which is worth disseminating in our country, all civilized foreign achievements, will be made available without obstruction to the Polish reader. However, the state border cannot be open without restriction to West German revanchist forces; it cannot be open to antisocialist opinions, and cannot be open to ideological and political subversion.

We want to make monitoring the observation of the law's provisions the responsibility of a specialized establishment, whose decisions would be subject not only to public assessment but also to judicial verification, and the quality of whose work would be watched by a public collegium and a state council.

I consider that now, after the stormy discussions and with this law in hand, it will be easier to create the other laws. Approval of the law on the control of publications and public performances will pave the way for major work in the Sejm and of this convocation on the legal regularization of the whole field of civil rights and civil obligations with regard to the state, writes Z. Surowiec in conclusion in DZIENNIK LUDOWY.

JARUZELSKI GREETS SCIENCE ACADEMY HEAD ON BIRTHDAY

LD162040 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has sent birthday greetings to the chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Prof Aleksander Gieysztor, on the occasion of his 65th birthday. Expressing sincere respect for the distinguished, manysided and fruitful activity of Gieysztor, the premier wished him successful results in his work at the head of the academy and also in his personal life.

GOVERNMENT SENDS REPLY TO UN SECRETARY GENERAL

AU141205 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jul 81 pp 1, 7

[PAP report: "Poland Is for Strengthening International Peace and Security--The Polish Government's Reply to the UN Secretary General on Aspects of Regional Disarmament"]

[Text] In connection with the United Nation's resolution of December 1980 on studies of all the aspects of regional disarmament, the permanent delegate of Poland in the United Nations relayed to UN Secretary General Kurt Walheim the Polish Government's reply presenting Poland's position on the subject.

The reply states inter alia that the study, to which the Polish experts have also contributed, was another expression of the interest of large sections of the public and of governments in regional disarmament, including specific initiatives and suggestions for promoting the regional disarmament means that have so far been put forward. For obvious reasons, those issues are of absolutely crucial interest to Polish foreign policy, which seeks to strengthen international peace and security and to bring about effective disarmament.

The reply stresses that the Polish Government was pleased with the authoritative work of the UN, which, aside from surveying the history of regional disarmament, tried to define the general concepts of a regional approach to disarmament and to specify the term of regionalism.

The reply states that the part of the study on European security and on various states' efforts to promote regional or subregional disarmament in Europe is a valuable contribution to the research into the process of present disarmament negotiations. What gives particular satisfaction is the in-depth analysis of the Polish intitiatives in the connection, including the "Rapacki Plant" for nuclear-free zone and for reduced conventional weapons in Europe as well as the plan for freezing nuclear armaments in Europe. The study's discussion of the Vienna negotiations on mutual reductions in armed forces and armaments in central Europe is also important. Poland invariably seeks to overcome the impasse in those negotiations and to achieve the necessary accord because it is convinced that such reductions would prove an effective means for strengthening the security of central European states.

The reply states that in connection with the CSCE meeting in Madrid, Poland and other socialist countries have submitted specific proposal on extending political detente to military relations in Europe in order to prevent a conflict in a region of the world that is of basic significance for all aspects of international security. Poland's propsal for a Warsaw conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe is a new phase in efforts to build trust and, in the long run, to achieve specific results in all-European disarmament. The Polish Government is ready to examine all possible measures that, without violating the balance of power in Europe, would help strengthen European security. Of particular significance in that context are the Soviet Union's recent proposals, including especially its readiness to extend the zone of using military means to build trust to the entire area of its European territory and to place a moratorium on medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe. That presents an opportunity for working out lasting guarantees for European security and constitutes a new phase in the talks on regional disarmament.

The reply praises the fact that the authors of the study stress the need for educating societies in the spirit of peace, which is of crucial significance for educating societies in the spirit of disarmament.

In conclusion the reply stresses that the aspects of regional disarmament dealt with by the study should continue to be examined, analyzed and evaluated for their practical usefulness. That calls for intensive research work, including UN participation, and for examining specific conditions in the regions in which the conditions for regional disarmament are ripe. The regions and areas of the world that are now of the highest significance for removing a threat of a war catastrophe, for maintaining universal peace and for strengthening detente are crucial in that regard.

INTERPRESS COMMENTS ON RESULTS OF GROMYKO VISIT

LD101846 Warsaw PAP in Russian 1500 GMT 10 Jul 81

[Text] Warsaw, 10 Jul (PAP)--It was with a certain amount of disappointment that Western commentators recieved the results of Andrey Gromyko's talks in Warsaw and the contents of the Polish-Soviet joint communique, Jerzy Mazan writes in the INTERPRESS bulletin. He notes that they expected to find clear proof of differences between the assessments and positions of Poland and the USSR, but they received a document which was balanced in its appraisal of the process of social and political changes in Poland and which viewed them in a broad international context.

The INTERPRESS publicist goes on to write that Poland, which is being torn by a profound economic crisis and criticized even by its own socialist partners, will remain a firm link in the socialist community and a loyal member of it. The content and tone of the joint communique uniformly address the fact that, taking into consideration its achievements in foreign policy and the role which it has played in a peaceful East-West dialogue, our country must continue to act energetically in the cause of detente and disarmament.

It seems, the author goes on to write, that the Soviet Union sees fresh tasks for Poland in its own disarmament campaign, the latest stage of which was begun at the 26th CPSU Congress. It is a question here, above all, of a more energetic involvement of Poland in propaganda activities relating to the talks on Eurostrategic weapons. Poland could host a conference on military detente and disarmament in Europe even in the present very difficult situation. This readiness was confirmed in the resolution of the Sejm in response to the USSR Supreme Soviet's appeal to the world's parliaments and peoples.

This multifaceted and positive appraisal of the Polish renewal in the context of Soviet and Polish foreign policy is not only an important argument for us; it counters arguments presented by certain Western circles, which have in their own fashion been viewing events in our country, the INTERPRESS publicist notes in conclusion.

ALLIES TO GRANT ASSISTANCE DESPITE DOUBTS

LD140900 Warsaw PAP in English 0826 GMT 14 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (PAP)--TRYBUNA LUDU stressed the significance of the Warsaw visit of member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU CC and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrey Gromyko lately and the debates of the 35th CMEA session in Sofia as "events of momentous importance for the development of Poland's relations with fraternal countries.

"These events further confirmed solidarity of partners with socialist Poland and understanding for difficult situation in this coutnry. These are inestimable values", wrote the daily.

Referring to the CPSU CC's letter expressing concern over further development of socialism in Poland the daily wrote that "the prolonged crisis must have aroused various doubts of Poland's allies. This stems from Poland's significance in the allied system, the concern over the alignment of forces in Europe ensuring long years of peace and from the involvement of many vital interests of fraternal countries in cooperation with Poland and also from the internationalistic commitment to the cause of socialism.

"In this situation, the fact that despite these doubts fraternal coutnries have been giving Poland a remarkable credit of confidence and extending concrete assitance becomes especially meaningful," TRYBUNA LUDU said stressing that "Poland has been and will be an infallible link in the community of socialist states".

TRYBUNA LUDU COMMENTS ON SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

LD141024 Warsaw PAP in Russian 0300 GMT 14 Jul 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 14 Jul (PAP)--There has been and is no more important question for the international positions and foreign policy of socialist Poland than the constant development of allied and friendly cooperation with the USSR and with all the states of the community, says TRYBUNA LUDU in an extensive article under the heading "values of alliance and cooperation".

As an ally of the Soviet Union and as a partner in the Warsaw Pact organization and the CEMA, Poland has occupied a firm and clearly defined place in the contemporary international disposition of forces. This is an historic feat, a great step against the background of all that the country has experienced in recent centuries. It is inseparably linked with socialism. Therefore, whoever undermines socialism in Poland is going against the elementary state interests and, in the final analysis, is undermining the country's international positions, its security and independent life.

Particularly striking is the fact that the fraternal countries are giving Poland a considerable amount of credit and trust, and have been giving and are giving concrete help. This is taking place at a time when Poland is temporarily not in a position to fulfill certain economic obligations which are important for its partners. This is one example of the practical application of the principle of friendly mutual aid which characterizes the new type of international relations created by the community of socialist states. This is realized not only by communists but by all conscious social forces in Poland.

It is necessary constantly and vigilantly to stand on guard of these values. The trust which has been extended must not fail be justified and it will be justified, concludes TRYBUNA LUDU.

HODIC PRESS CONFERENCE IN PRAGUE REPORTED

LD161016 Warsaw PAP in English 0945 GMT 16 Jul 81

[By PAP correspondent Wlodzimierz Kaniewski]

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Jul (PAP)--Anti-communist centres show great interest in a rapprochement of political circles of Czechoslovak and Polish emigration so that they seek joint ways and methods to fight socialism, said an operative of the Czechoslovak intelligence Josef Hodic at a press conference in Prague yesterday. Hodic returned to his country in mid-June after a 3.5-year stay abroad.

Hodic stated that the U.S. intelligence worked out for the years 1979-1980 a programme of activities based on a detailed analysis of the situation in Poland. It took into account such factors as the possibility of appealing to Poles' national feelings, a special role that the Catholic Church plays in Poland, and relations of a substantial part of the Polish people with Poles (polonia) residing in America. The programme covered also a number of factors considered by its authors as negative such as Poland's close links with the Soviet Union, and a common conviction that there exists no other realistic way of the country's development but a socialist one. Therefore, the authors of the programme came to a conclusion that it is necessary to activate the political struggle, emphasizing secret operations and actions through chosen milieus. Hodic mentioned also money-collecting campaign in the West for anti-socialist forces in Poland.

ION COMAN RECEIVES CCP ACTIVISTS 16 JULY

AU161844 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1815 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, received on July 16 a delegation of activists of the Chinese Communist Party led by Yan Kelun, secretary of the Shanxi Provincial Committee of the CCP, that visited Romania for exchange of experience over June 25-July 16, 1981, at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

On the occasion, the chief delegates requested that cordial greetings be conveyed to the RCP leadership from the Chinese leadership as well as best wishes of fresh and great success in the activity of building the multilaterally developed socialist society in Romania. Thanking, Ion Coman conveyed comradely greetings to the CCP leadership on behalf of the RCP leadership as well as best wishes of ever greater success in their activity for the modern socialist construction of the People's Republic of China. Reference was made to the good friendly and cooperative relations between the two peoples, parties and countries that develop in the spirit of mutual esteem and regard.

ANDREI, OTHER OFFICIALS ATTEND IRAQI EMBASSY EVENT

AU161939 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1827 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--Marking the national day of the Republic of Iraq, the ambassador of that country in Bucharest, Diyab M. al-Alqawi, gave a reception on July 16.

Participating were Gheorghe Oprea, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, Ion Coman, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Stefan Andrei, alternate member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, minister of foreign affairs, Petre Gigea, minister of finance, Ion Stanciu, deputy minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, other officials.

Attending were heads of diplomatic missions accredited to Bucharest and members of the diplomatic corps.

ION DINCA CONDUCTS OFFICIAL TALKS IN IRAQ

AU161941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Baghdad, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--Ion Dinca, member of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, first deputy prime minister, chairman for Romania of the Joint Romanian-Iraqi Commission of Trade and Economic and Technical Cooperation, now in Baghdad for the 13th anniversary of the Iraqi Revolution of July 17, had an interview with Hasan 'Ali, member of the Revolution Command Council, vice chairman and minister of trade, chairman for Iraq of the commission. The two governments' satisfaction was expressed on the occasion for the upward course of bilateral relations in all fields of joint interest, and analysis was made of the current stage of commercial exchanges and economic cooperation as well as the prospects for developing and intensifying them on mutually advantageous bases.

Ion Dinca also met Hikmat Ibrahim al-Azawi, member of the Revolution Command Council, and 'Abd al-Wahhab 'Abdallah, minister of irrigation. Questions of joint interest were approached during the interviews.

PRESIDENT CEAUSESCU ADDRESSES CONSTANTA MASS RALLY

AU161141 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0958 GMT 16 Jul 81

[President Nicolae Ceausescu's speech at Constanta mass rally occasioned by his working visit to that count--live]

[Text] Dear comrades and friends, I have paid a working visit to Constanta County and municipality. On this occasion and at this great mass rally I want to convey to you, to all the inhabitants of Constanta County and municipality communist, revolutionary greetings and best wishes on behalf of the party Central Committee; the State Council, the government and myself. [applause, cheers, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Like the other counties, Constanta has been markedly developing, as a result of the party policy of distributing the production forces among all the counties and areas of the country. In the past 5-year plan industry developed greatly; new industrial facilities were built in Constanta. Between 1970 and 1980 industrial poroduction trebled in Constanta. In point of fact, the entire national industry about trebled in the past 10 years. This forcefully demonstrates the correctness of our communist party's policy of rapidly developing the production forces, as the foundation for successfully building the comprehensively developed socialist society and raising the people's material and cultural well-being. [applause, chants of "Ceausescu and the People"]

You are familiar with the figures concerning our country's general development, hence I will not now dwell on them. Agriculture and other sectors of activity have greatly developed, as have education, science and culture as important factors for our country's general progress. As a result of increases in the national wealth and income, we were in a position to continuously raise the people's material and cultural living standard. As is known, in the 1976-80 5-year plan real remunerations increased [Ceausescu stumbles] by 29 percent, as compared to the 20 percent initially envisaged in the 5-year plan. The well-being of all social categories has increased. This forcefully demonstrates that everything we are achieving in building socialism is devoted to the country's development and to improving the lives of all our people--the true masters of everything in Romania. [applause, cheers]

Constanta County constitutes an example of our achievements in the socialist period. I am sure the older among us remember what Constanta looked like 30 years ago and appreciate the enormous change that has occurred in industry, agriculture, cutlture, science and education of this Black Sea county. Indeed, one can see everywhere the wonderful results of socialism: huge industrial plants, agricultural units, education, health and cultural establishments--all built through the work of the industrious people of Constanta who, like all our people, unwaveringly implement our party's policy. [applause, cheers, chants of "Ceausescu-RCP"]

We have begun implementing the 1981-85 5-year plan. Six months have passed; we can state that the results obtained in the first half of this year--the first year of the 5-year plan--are generally good. Throughout the country industrial production is being satisfactorily fulfilled. Constanta, too, has attained good results in these 6 months. This shows that the workers, intellectuals and all working people have begun well the new 5-year plan, have begun it with the firm determination to unabatedly fulfill the 12th congress tasks on the transition to a new quality in all areas of activity and on Romania's advance from the level of a developing country to that of a country with an average level of development. The achievements of the first half of the year show that all conditions have been secured to attain these strategic objectives, which will raise our country to higher peaks of progress and civilization. [applause, cheers, chants of "Ceausescu and the People"]

I have visited the Constanta and the Mangalia shipyards. Both have obtained good results. Indeed, in a relatively short period of time they progressed from vessels of several tons to large, 150-ton vessels.

The working people of those shipyards as well as our entire fatherland can be proud of the large ships--up to 150 tons--that are crisscrossing the seas and oceans under both Romanian and other flags, proving that the Romanian shipbuilders of Constanta are capable of producing vessels of international caliber. [applause]

I was left with good impressions of both shipyards. I discussed with the management councils and working people the problems that remain to be solved to ensure better utilization of the shipyards' capacities and thus to shorten building periods and continuously improve their qualitative level, to cut down material expenditures. I am convinced that the working people at both shipyards will be capable of conscientiously honoring their commitments, will not merely fulfill this year's plan, but the entire 5-year plan, and will build even more ships for our national economy than envisaged in the plan. [applause, cheers]

I would like to extend congratulations to the working people from both worksites and to wish them increasingly greater successes in their overall activity. [cheers] I have visited the Midia refinery built during the 5-year plan we have just concluded. We have also recorded a number of positive results there. However, there are many installations that must be put into operation this year and next so as to ensure better utilization and to produce the petro-chemical products that our national economy requires. I am convinced that the working people from the refinery and petrochemical center, that all builders working on this large worksite will do all they can to shorten the duration of executing investment projects so as to more rapidly commission all projects.

For the results recorded thus far, I want to extend congratulations also to the petrochemical workers and to the builders and to wish them greater and greater successes in implementing their highly responsible tasks. [cheers, chants]

This morning I visited several targets on the large national worksite: The Danube-Black Sea Canal. I have gathered particularly favorable impressions about the achievements recorded since my last visit here last year. The increasingly higher rate of executed projects is a guarantee that in less than 2 years the canal will be commissioned and ships will begin to sail, thus shortening the distance more than 300 kilometers. This will be of special importance to goods transportation and to cutting back transportation expenditures.

There certainly are a great number of projects to be executed, however. The measures that have been taken and the pledges made by the builders, youth and the military are a guarantee that those projects will be completed upon schedule, some even earlier. And, in fact, in the first part of 1983 we will be able to navigate the canal. I would like to convey congratulations to the builders, to the military and to the youth who are working on that large national worksite and to urge them to do all they can to finish the canal upon schedule. [cheers, chants]

In the past few days I visited several agricultural units. Indeed agriculture in Constanta this year has recorded positive results thus far and every condition exists for agricultural production to be good throughout the year and for the plan to be fulfilled or even overfulfilled. It can indeed be said that from an agricultural viewpoint too, Constanta County has achieved very important things. From a production of 700-800 kilograms in the past, they now record 4,400 kilograms of barley, more than 4,000 kilograms of wheat and probably as much in corn, as well as large crops of other produce; in fact 5,000 kilograms in the case of corn--my mistake. I agree we should proceed in this direction in the case of corn. [cheers] This indeed demonstrates that socialist agriculture in Constanta and in fact throughout our country ensures the implementation of the 12th party congress decisions and, without any hesitation, we can state that what we have achieved in agriculture forcefully illustrates that only by cooperativization of socialist agriculture can one ensure progressive and highly productive agriculture. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

I would like to extend congratulations to all working people in agriculture and to all cooperative members and to wish that they achieve larger and larger crops and urge them to do all they can to hold a frontranking place and if possible the first place in agriculture this year and throughout the 5-year plan. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

Dear comrades and friends, 6 months of the current 5-year plan have passed and we must do all we can to resolutely ensure implementation of the tasks set forth by the 12th party congress regarding the achievement of a new life and work quality, the improvement of the technical and qualitative level of production, and increase in economic efficiency and regarding cutting back production costs, especially material and energy consumption and the resolute application of the new economic mechanism: self-management and self-administration in all fields of activity. It is necessary to pay greater attention to labor productivity, to the maximum use of installations and equipment, of machine-tools so as to increase the overall efficiency of our economic activity and profits and thus--by participating in increasing outputs and profits--to ensure better participation in distributing profits. For, as I stressed at the Working People's Congress, to participate in the distribution of profits we must first and foremost actively participate, as owners and producers, in achieving profits. Only thus will we be able to have larger means for the fatherland's general development and for improving the well-being of all our people. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu and the people"]

Dear comrades from Constanta, it is necessary--from here I want to appeal to all working people throughout the country--to make every effort so that this year--the first year of the 5-year plan--will demonstrate that we are able and we have everything that is necessary to successfully fulfill the 5-year plan. I want to extend congratulations to all working people in our fatherland for the results recorded in the first 6 months and to wish them greater and greater successes. [cheers, chants: "Ceausescu-RCP"]

From this big mass rally in Constanta, I would also like to appeal to the cooperative members and the working people throughout the Romanian agricultural sector to do all they can so that in the next few days we will finish wheat harvesting and to ensure in this manner the necessary conditions for recording good crops throughout the year so that we will begin in agriculture, too, with results that will ensure implementation of the new agrarian revolution. [cheers]

Concurrently with harvesting the crop, we must conclude in the next few days the sowing of second crops of corn, fodder and vegetables, thus ensuring a good fodder base and the necessary vegetable supplies for the people. We must do everything possible to ensure that all tasks set for this year in the vegetable production, livestock and other agricultural sectors are implemented as well as the program for the overall development of our fatherland's agriculture. We have good opportunities and I am convinced that the working people in agriculture, like the working people in industry and other branches, will do their best to make an increasingly more important contribution to the overall development of our fatherland. [applause, cheers, chants]

In my congratulations to the working people, I also included the party organizations and communists, since, as I have often said in the past, the work of party organizations is also reflected in the good or bad results attained in various fields of activity. As a matter of fact, the communists are part and parcel of the workers class and the people. Their activity is devoted to uniting the efforts of all the working people and all the people in implementing the program to build the comprehensively developed socialist society and advance toward communism. [applause, cheers, chants]

I am very familiar with the activity of the Constanta party organization. I know how it has developed and that we now have a powerful party organization and powerful organizations in all industrial, agricultural and other units in the county.

I am convinced that all party organizations and all communists will do everything possible to unflinchingly implement the 12th congress decisions, will always work together with the working people and will act in full unity, under the leadership of our party Central Committee, thus unswervingly implementing the party's role as the leading political force in our entire society. [applause, cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends, as you can well see, I did not refer too much to failings, although I must state that during my current visit to many units here I have noted a number of shortcomings and deficiencies, along with positive results. I hope that the party organizations, management councils and working people took note of my suggestions during the visit, hence I do not wish to refer now to shortcomings. However, I would like you to take this as a sort of credit, so to say, that I am granting to the party organizations and working people's collectives, by not criticizing them here at this public rally; but I hope they will draw the conclusion that each of them must work to eliminate shortcomings and unswervingly fulfill tasks in all fields. [applause, cheers, chants]

We must pay greater attention to raising the professional and political training of cadres, because without appropriate training of workers, engineers and technicians in all fields, we will not be able to carry out the scientific-technical revolution and will fail to attain a new quality in all fields. This new quality begins with a better-trained man from a professional, scientific and technological viewpoint, a man who is conscious of the fact that he is the true master of everything being attained in Romania, a man who is consciously working to build socialism and communism. [applause, cheers, chants]

While concerning ourselves with implementing the program to develop our fatherland, we never forget that it is only possible under conditions of peace and broad international cooperation. Therefore, our party and state carry out broad international activity in the service of the policy of detente, independence and peace. [applause, cheers, chants]

We firmly act to develop relations with all socialist countries, developing and nonaligned countries and the developed capitalist states, on the basis of principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs of other states, mutual advantage, nonuse of force and the threat of force and observance of each people's right to free development, in accordance with its wishes and without any outside interference. [applause, cheers, chants]

There are many complicated problems and a number of conflicts in the world. The policy of force and the imperialist and neocolonialist policy are still manifest. It is necessary to intensify the effort and solidarity of all peace-loving states and anti-imperialist forces everywhere to halt the aggravation of the international situation and to resolve all contentious problems through negotiations among the interested countries, thus ensuring the continuation of international detente and cooperation. [applause, cheers, chants]

We must do everything possible to ensure the successful conclusion of the Madrid conference on security and cooperation in Europe. It should agree on convening a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe. We must resolutely work to prevent the deployment and development of new nuclear missiles in Europe. It is high time for the European peoples to speak out against the policy of nuclear armaments that jeopardizes the life of each European nation. [applause, cheers, chants]

We firmly act to expand cooperation relations with all Balkan countries. We would like the Balkans to become an area of friendship and cooperation, free of nuclear weapons. We, the Balkan peoples, must do our best to prove that we are determined to no longer permit ourselves to be an instrument in the hands of the big powers. [applause, cheers, chants]

We consider Balkan cooperation as an inseparable part of European security and peace throughout the world. We resolutely advocate disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. It is necessary that all states proceed to immediately reduce military expenditures, so that the huge funds wasted today on armaments are devoted to increasing the well-being of peoples and assisting the developing countries. We must do everything possible to build new, better and more just international economic order, in which each nation can develop. It is necessary to ensure broad access to modern technologies, under advantageous conditions for developing countries. It is more than ever necessary now to strengthen the solidarity of all developing countries in order to make the rich ones take note of the fact that they cannot continue the policy of imperialist oppression and domination. [applause, cheers, chants]

The RCP and Socialist Romania are determined to do everything possible to develop cooperation with all anti-imperialist forces, all communist and workers parties, other democratic parties and national liberation movements. We are convinced that the unity and solidarity of all these forces can impose a new international order, halt the arms race, ensure peace and attain a better and more just world in which each nation can develop in accorance with its wishes. [applause, cheers, chants]

Dear comrades and friends,

In conclusion I would like to express the conviction that all working people in Constanta municipality and county will do their best to attain better results this year and to occupy a front-ranking place in the great competition among our countries, even first place if possible. I would surely welcome it gladly. [applause, cheers, chants]

I wish you and all working people and inhabitants of Constanta greater success in all your activity and much health and happiness. [applause, cheers, chants]

Visits Danube Canal Site

AU161005 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--Continuing the working visit in the Constanta County, President Nicolae Ceausescu accompanied by Elena Ceausescu and other members of the leadership of the RCP and Romanian state, was on Thursday morning amid the builders of the new navigable way--the Danube-Black Sea Canal, the first visited objective was the Cernavoda Sluice whose construction is in an advanced stage. It is to be finished by the end of this year.

This important (64 km. long) navigable way will link the Danube to the Black Sea, which will cut the distance to and from the sea 320 km. shorter.

President Ceausescu's visit in the Constanta County goes on.

Visits Nuclear Plant Site

AU161008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Bucharest, 16 Jul (AGERPRES)--After the meeting with the Cernavoda Sluice builders, President Nicolae Ceausescu visited another important objective now under construction in the zone of the Danube-Black Sea Canal: the first nuclear-electric power station of Romania. The unit, enjoying best ground conditions that allow for the advantageous use of the canal waters in the technological processes, will supply electric power by the end of the current quinquennium (1981-1985).

The Romanian head of state continues the working visit to further important spots of the Danube-Black Sea Canal.

BELGIAN ENVOY HANDED PROTEST ON BRUSSELS INCIDENT

LD161236 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1210 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--In connection with the terrorist attack on the SFRY Embassy in Brussels and the serious injuries dealt to embassy Counselor Blagoj Antioski and embassy official Franc Spindler, Milodar Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, today received Joseph Trouveroy, ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium, and lodged a sharp protest from the Yugoslav Government, strenuously demanding that the culprits of this criminal act be found and punished and that the continuance of anti-Yugoslav terrorist and subversive activity in Belgium be thwarted and prevented.

Ministry Spokesman Comment

LD161444 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1405 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--In connection with the attack carried out in the Yugoslav Embassy in Belgium, Ambassador Kalezic, official spokesman in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, told journalists at today's press conference that there had recently been an escalation of anti-Yugoslav activity in Belgium, which extremist emigre groups had turned into a testing ground for their assembly and for organized attacks on the SFRY, its citizens and property.

The armed terrorist attack on the SFRY Embassy in Brussels, when embassy Counsellor Blagoj Antioski and embassy official Franc Spindler were seriously wounded, is the most grevious in a series of terrorist attacks against Yugoslav missions and institutions in Belgium over the last few months.

I must say, the official spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs stated, that the Belgian authorities have turned a deaf ear to all our warnings and to the demand that anti-Yugoslav terrorist and subversive activity in Belgium should be thwarted and prevented.

Unfortunately, the incomprehensibly tolerant attitude of the Belgian authorities toward such anti-Yugoslav activity is in direct contradiction to the norms of international law, and in particular is in contradiction to the obligations of states on the basis of the Helsinki CSCE Final Act to prevent terrorism and other subversive activities on their own territory aimed against third states. This may have very damaging consequences for Yugoslav-Belgian relations, the full responsibility for which lies exclusively with the Belgian side.

As a result of this terrorist attack on the SFRY Embassy in Brussels and the wounding of the diplomatic representatives of the SFRY, the Yugoslav Government has made the sharpest demarche to the Government of the Kingdom of Belgium. Milorad Pesic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, presented a protest note today in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs.

SPOKESMAN PRAISES U.S. MOVES AGAINST TERRORISTS

LD161926 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1751 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia today officially assessed the recent arrest of nine anti-Yugoslav terrorists in the U.S. as "positive and concrete contribution to the prevention of terrorism".

Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat Spokesman Mirko Kalezic stated at his press conference that the action of the U.S. security organs is in keeping with the assurances of U.S. officials that terrorist activity against Yugoslavia will be suppressed.

The U.S. police recently arrested nine "Ustasha", fascist terrorists, members of the criminal illegal organization "Croatian National Resistance".

The resolute measures taken against the organizers and proponents of anti-Yugoslav terrorism in the U.S. are a contribution to strengthening trust and friendly relations between Yugoslavia and the U.S. and are in the interest of the battle against terrorism in general, Kalezic stated.

The Yugoslav official had no comment on the decision of the Washington immigrant appeals court denying the request of war criminal Andrija Artukovic not to be deported from the U.S.

Andrija Artukovic is responsible for genocide over hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Croats, Jews, Romanies and political opponents during the fascist, quisling "independent state of Croatia" in the World War Two.

MINISTRY SPOKESMAN VIEWS RELATIONS WITH ALBANIA

LD162014 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1654 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--Yugoslavia continued ready to cooperate with Albania but on the basis of strict respect for the principles of independence, equality, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference, Yugoslav foreign secretariat spokesman Mirko Kalezic said today.

The Yugoslav spokesman underlined that, in its future contacts with Tirana, Yugoslavia will, due to the abuse to date on the part of Albania, insist on strict respect of the above principles on Albania's part.

This stand applies to all fields on mutual relations, Kalezic added and recalled that Albania has in the greatest measure aspired for greater Albanian and irredentist objectives in its contacts with Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav spokesman Mirko Kalezic withheld comment on the construction of a railway between Yugoslavia and Albania, which has not received the approval of the assemblies of the Yugoslav Constituent Republics of Croatia and Slovenia and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

Kalezic said that the constitutional procedure is still underway of coordinating the stands of the Yugoslav federal units on the realization of the project.

LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE DISCUSSES ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

LD162326 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2110 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--The League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency has assessed the economic situation in the country as still disturbing. The solution of economic problems is still inconsistently implemented, it is stated in the statement on the LCY Central Committee Presidency session held here in Belgrade.

The LCY Presidency underlined that the key task of all communists and League of Communists organizations is the adjustment of the development plans of the constituent republics and autonomous provinces with Yugoslavia's development plan. The plans must also be adjusted with the actual financial and economic possibilities. To this end, the LCY Presidency urges the reduction of investments, spending and inflation and measures for raising exports and reducing the balance-of-payments deficit.

The need was pointed out at the session also for protecting the standard of living of workers and citizens, particularly those within low income brackets.

All communists must consistently carry out the economic stabilization tasks in all environments, the statement says. The LCY Presidency also pointed out the need for stiffening the personal and collective responsibility of communists and the LCY leaderships for the attainment of the economic objectives. The communists whose behaviour is in contrast with the economic stabilization policy objectives must be taken to task politically and changes must be made where necessary, the statement on the session underlines.

ASSEMBLY CHAMBER DISCUSSES 1981 SOCIAL PLAN

LD162326 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1330 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly held a session today, chaired by Zoran Polic, which discussed the implementation of Yugoslavia's social plan for 1981 and adopted conclusions on how to overcome economic difficulties indicated by the SFRY Presidency in its letter to the SFRY Assembly.

Delegates also adopted conclusions on the state of and problems in railroad transportation and the measures proposed with the aim of preparing railroads to play an adequate role in the implementation of the policy of stabilization. Delegates also discussed the functioning of the postal, telephone and telegraph [PTT] service after first hearing an introductory report by Gojke Sekulovski, director-general of the PTT community.

The Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted conclusions on railroad transportation the implementation of which should contribute to the efforts being made to overcome the present unfavorable state of affairs in this sector of transportation and make the railroads capable of playing an adequate role in the struggle for economic stabilization.

Delegates adopted conclusions on the PTT services and asked the Federal Executive Council to report back to the SFRY Assembly by 30 October on the implementation of the conclusions of the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces adopted in 1979 and 1980 in connection with the consideration of the reports submitted by the PTT community.

The Chamber further adopted the proposed law on amendments and addenda to the law on the Yugoslav national banks of the republics and the provinces. The Chamber ratified a protocol attached to the agreement on the import of educational, scientific and cultural materials, as well as an agreement on guarantees reached between the SFRY and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on the fifth extension of credits for industry and an agreement between the SFRY and the Kingdom of Sweden aimed at preventing double taxation in the sphere of income and property taxation.

The Chamber relieved Cedomil Milicevic, judge of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, at his own request, and set up a Commission for Housing Questions of the SFRY Assembly.

At the end of the session, after a short debate, the Chamber adopted conclusions in connection with the consideration of the Federal Executive Council's report on the realization of the social plan for Yugoslavia in 1981 and on development prospects in 1982.

KOSOVO LCY ENDORSES REPORT ON BAKALI'S ERRORS

LD161800 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] Belgrade, 16 Jul (TANJUG)--At a session on 15 July, the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee Presidium endorsed the report from the commission which investigated the responsibility of Mahmut Bakali for the major mistakes and omissions in the policy of the League of Communists and for the political situation in Kosovo. The report had already been endorsed by the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium at a session earlier this month.

"The commission considers that Mahmut Bakali should be expelled from the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee and punished with the final warning," the commission's report says. "The commission is aware that the proposed measures do not fully reflect his personal responsibility, but takes the view that he should be given the chance to display a sincere critical and self-critical attitude through his attitude and work in the next period. His further position in the League of Communists should primarily depend on this."

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will make a decision on this proposal at its next session.

KOSOVO TRADE UNION COUNCIL REVIEWS TASKS

AU161720 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Nikola Bulatovic report]

[Text] A session of the Presidium of the Kosovo Provincial Trade Union Council in Pristina has discussed implementing the resolutions of the third congress of Yugoslav self-managers. Presidents of all the communal trade union organizations in the province also took part in the session. It was stressed that to distinguish between work and idleness is the most important thing now. Nikola Bulatovic reports from Pristina:

The scope for the enemy must be restricted by all means, and when it is a matter of associated labor organizations, the struggle for economic stabilization is their primary task. As Stefan Jasari, president of the Kosovo Trade Union Council, stressed, the enemies of Yugoslavia are shifting their activities to material production organizations and are trying to work even in the collectives where there have been no counterrevolutionary actions or only on a small scale.

The overall efforts for stabilizing the situation in Kosovo are therefore approached from the viewpoint of the attitude toward self-management in general and of how the tasks are accomplished. The earlier attempts by the enemy, as well as the present ones, show that the trade unions are not sufficiently present among the workers and that, as was said, they must struggle more against their own bureaucracy. The work of trade union forums cannot be measured either by meetings or conclusions, and not by signed agreements, either, but only by results achieved in implementing the set programs.

It was said today that through increasing responsibility and cadre rejuvenation, the trade unions should strengthen their action ability and get rid not only of those who obviously do not work but also of those who are incapable, regardless of their good intentions.

It was decided today that in connection with the results of Kosovo economic operations in the past 6 months--which are known to be rather unfavorable--a broad discussion should be organized in all associated labor organizations, and the obligation be imposed on the organizers of production to analyze performance daily, on self-managing organs to do it weekly, and the communal and provincial council every 10 days.

KOSOVO TEXTBOOK INSTITUTE WORK CRITICIZED

AU162013 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 16 Jul 81

[Text] The Kosovo Institute for the Publication of Textbooks and Teaching Aids has begun discussions on the work of this institution, which in the past months has been exposed to criticism with good reason, especially since the attempts at counterrevolutionary actions. Let us hear a report by Nikola Bulatovic on how the process is going in this institution:

The communists of the Textbook Institute, at several meetings all over the province and especially here in Pristina, have been urged to critically appraise the ideological side of their work. Much criticism has been directed at the ideological orientation and content of the textbooks, at the abnormally high proportion of authors and texts from Albania, at omitting from the programs the generally known and acknowledged values in the field of literature and science of our peoples and nationalities, and at the impermissible influence of alien Albanian ideology.

The work has not been at all easy for the people of this Institute. One should comprehensively assess more than 100 textbooks, counting only those from the primary school to the end of vocational training.

The beginning of this work, however, cannot be said to promise a full picture of the true situation. For instance, discussions were held today on an ideological evaluation of textbooks on history, social studies and readers for the first and second grades of vocational training. The analysis presented will not make the work of the communists any easier, for it does not contain even approximately enough specific ideological assessments.

How else can one understand part of the evaluation of the content of the readers for the first and second grades of vocational training, which reads: Since 1977, the institute faced its work with great social responsibility. They obviously have in mind the publication of textbooks and other teaching aids, but there is no assessment of how this socially responsible task has been accomplished.

Or another example: Since nobody applied when authors were sought for certain textbooks, the Institute solved the problem simply by appointing authors from among the writers who, as is now said, are featured in these books. Or yet another example: The assessment of the commission composed of Dr (Gani Ljuboteni), professor at the Faculty of Philosophy; (Nadzimi Rahmani), editor; and (Sefcet Riza), language editor at the Institute, is that no educational unit in the two readers stands outside the basic program structures.

When one adds the concluding assessment that the readers contain no ideological omissions, it is not difficult to conclude that the differentiation in this important social institution is yet to come. At the coming meetings, the communists of the Institute will necessarily have to determine to what extent these analyses are actually ideological, as is suggested in their title.

The task is obviously large and responsible, but the time until the next school year is not long. According to the general assessment here in Kosovo and in the country, time will not be able to reconcile itself with the textbooks which to a considerable extent favored nationalism and other occurrences.

SERBIA'S STAMBOLIC VISITS PRISTINA 8 JUL

AU161742 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 81 p 4

[M. Antic report]

[Summary] Pristina, 8 Jul--Ivan Stambolic, president of the Serbian Executive Council, visited Pristina today, inspecting some enterprises and having talks with members of the Managing Board of the Pristina united metal industry and members of the Executive Council of the Communal Assembly of Pristina.

Ilija Vakic, president of the Managing Board, and other board members informed Stambolic of plans to merge all the metal industry in Kosovo, and of cooperation with the French automobile maker Peugeot. It is intended to produce in Pristina 3,000 1-ton delivery vans and 3,000 Peugeot 305 cars a year.

Ivan Stambolic praised the efforts to merge the metal processing industry and integrate it vertically. Ivan Stambolic then "spoke about the need to find the common interests of organizations of this collective with others in the republic and beyond. This is the only way for the underdeveloped economy of this region to take its proper place in the division of labor in the country and beyond."

In the Communal Assembly of Pristina, Ivan Stambolic was told about the rapid development of the city. He said that the population growth of the city from 16,000 at the end of the war to 109,000 now has caused certain difficulties. The problems will be solved more rapidly if the workers class is firmly organized and united with the party. "Sometimes we have been satisfied with reports on how many workers are in forums (and often their numbers were not sufficient) instead of finding out what influence they have. Therefore, the differentiation after the recent events cannot develop properly without the political assertion of the workers class," Stambolic said. Stambolic also spoke about the need to expand the cooperation of Kosovo with other parts of the country in all spheres of life and work, and urged direct contacts among young people.